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**Formy a funkce přímé řeči v žánrové struktuře  
novinových zpráv**

**The Function of Direct Forms of Presentation in the  
Generic Structure of Newspaper Reports**

Disertační práce

Vedoucí práce – prof. PhDr. Libuše Dušková, DrSc.

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*Prohlašuji, že jsem dizertační práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.*

*V Praze, 17. března 2013*

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## **Abstrakt**

Dizertační práce se zabývá užitím přímých forem podání řeči v žánru novinové zprávy britského seriózního tisku. Klasifikace forem podání řeči je založena zejména na přístupu prezentovaném v Semino a Short (2004) a klade důraz na jejich deiktické a syntaktické vlastnosti, které jsou interpretovány na základě obecných konceptů z oblasti pragmatiky, např. perspektivy, věrnosti podání a role podavatele či původního mluvčího. Práce se zabývá různými typy přímých forem podání řeči, např. přímou a volnou přímou řeči a kombinovanými formami, tj. nepřímými formami s částečnou přímou citací. Druhá část práce spočívá v žánrové analýze novinové zprávy, pro niž je základním východiskem White (1998). Na žánr je nahlíženo z pohledu australské školy, která navazuje na principy systémové funkční lingvistiky M. A. K. Hallidaye. Pro žánr novinové zprávy je charakteristická tzv. orbitální struktura, tvořena nukleem a specifikujícími satelity (White 1998). Výskyt přímých a kombinovaných forem v orbitální struktuře je vysvětlován s ohledem na jejich deiktické, syntaktické a pragmatické vlastnosti, na roli a specifika nukleu a jednotlivých satelitů a na funkci novinové zprávy jako celku. Funkce novinové zprávy a forem podání řeči je interpretována na pozadí obecných konceptů heteroglosie, dialogu a objektivity.

## **Klíčová slova**

Přímé a nepřímé formy podání řeči, částečná citace, heteroglosie, dialog, perspektiva, žánr, novinová zpráva, orbitální struktura, nukleus, satelit, objektivita, australská škola, systémová funkční gramatika

## **Abstract**

The thesis deals with the employment of direct forms of presentation in the genre of hard news. The texts for the analysis were excerpted from the main British broadsheet newspapers. The classification of forms of presentation is based on Semino and Short (2004) and focuses on their deictic and syntactic properties, interpreted in terms of the pragmatic concepts of perspective, faithfulness claims and the role of the reported and reporting speaker. Attention is paid to various direct forms, including direct speech, free direct speech and combined forms, i.e. non-direct forms appearing with a partial direct quote. The thesis draws heavily on the work by White (1998), whose approach to genre is informed by the ideas proposed by the Sydney School and Systemic Functional Linguistics. Hard news is characterised by the orbital generic structure, consisting of the nucleus and a number of specifying satellites (White 1998). The occurrence of direct and combined forms of presentation is explained by their deictic, syntactic and pragmatic properties, the generic role and characteristic features of the nucleus and individual satellites, and the overall function of hard news. The function of hard news and forms of presentation is also discussed in terms of the more general concepts of heteroglossia, dialogue and reporter voice, referring to the absence of authorial evaluation in the text.

## **Key words**

Direct and non-direct forms of presentation, partial quotation, monoglossia, heteroglossia, dialogue, perspective, genre, hard news, orbital structure, nucleus, satellite, reporter voice, the Sydney School, Systemic Functional Linguistics

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## **List of most frequent abbreviations**

FDD/FDS/FDW/FDT – free direct discourse/speech/writing/thought

DD/DS/DW/DT – direct discourse/speech/writing/thought

FID/FIS/FIW/FIT – free indirect discourse/speech/writing/thought

ID/IS/IW/IT – indirect discourse/speech/writing/thought

NRDAp/NRSAp/NRWAp/NRTAp – narrator's representation of discourse/speech/writing/thought act with topic

NRDA/NRSA/NRWA/NRTA – narrator's representation of discourse/speech/writing/thought act (without a topic)

NV – narrator's representation of voice

NW – narrator's representation of writing

NI – internal narration

N – narration

-q – quotation phenomenon (partial quote), e.g. IS-q abbreviates indirect speech combined with a partial quote

-h – hypothetical form, e.g. IS-h abbreviates a hypothetical indirect speech

-i – inferred thought, e.g. IT-i abbreviates an inferred indirect thought

e1, e2, e3 – forms of presentation embedded at level one, two and three

S – satellite, e.g. S1 indicates the first satellite in the generic structure



## 1. Introduction

This work discusses a genre which plays an important role in the dissemination of information about the extra-linguistic reality, namely hard news. Hard news embodies a commitment to the notorious ideal of objective reporting and in its pursuit relies on various voices which bring to the text concurring or contradictory points of view, reflecting different ideological or value judgements. The noticeable presence of multiple external voices and the absence of the voice of the journalist are one of the features substantiating the claim of objectivity. The work focuses on forms of presentation, especially direct forms, as these are one of the basic means of making a text pregnant with the voices of others.

Forms of presentation in journalistic discourse have been considered from innumerable angles, ascribed the functions of objectivity, reliability, vividness, drama and appeal, and associated also with the news values of attribution, personalization and eliteness. Although these general labels may be useful and justifiable, a systematic description built on concrete theoretical foundations can shed more light on the way direct forms of presentation are employed.

In the approach to the structure of the hard news text the thesis follows the conception of genre defined by the Sydney School, benefiting from the ideas of Hallidean Systemic Functional Linguistics (e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Among the basic works the analysis draws on belong Iedema et al. (1994) and especially White (1998). In the spirit of the Australian view of genre, White (1998) identifies the main goal of hard news and provides a detailed description of two aspects that significantly contribute to its completion: its generic structure referred to as the orbital structure and the impersonal, non-evaluative style of reporting referred to as reporter voice. White (1998) notes the role of reported language mainly in connection with reporter vice and, drawing on Bakhtin (e.g. 1981), explains it by reference to the general notions of dialogue and heteroglossia. However, he does not carry out a thorough investigation into the distribution of various forms of presentation across the orbital structure. The present work aims to continue the line of inquiry established by White and provide a more consistent description regarding direct forms and generic structure, enriched by the ideas from the study of reported language.

Reported language has been subject to examination in many of its aspects, including formal, semantic, pragmatic, discoursal or stylistic features. Many descriptive frameworks and different categorizations have appeared, accentuating to greater or lesser extent deictic and syntactic properties, verbatimness, transformation from one form to another, the presence

and role of the reporting and reported speaker, perspective, voice and dialogue. The present work applies the classification presented in Semino et al. (1997) and Semino and Short (2004). In their corpus study, Semino and Short (2004) provide invaluable insight into the frequency of occurrence of forms of presentation in newspaper reports but their largely quantitative focus precludes deeper analysis. The present approach takes into consideration mainly deictic and syntactic criteria, which are subsequently interpreted on the basis of the above mentioned pragmatic and discoursal concepts, especially perspective, voice and dialogue.

The thesis attempts at a fusion of two approaches and two analyses. First, direct forms of presentation will be assessed according to the deictic and syntactic features of the reporting and reported element, and the repercussions these have for the perspective and role of the reporting and reported speaker. Second, the frequency and function of the individual forms of presentation (and the associated pragmatic concepts) will be interpreted taking into account the role of the orbital structure and its sections, and the aim of the genre of hard news in general. Even though primary attention is paid to direct forms of presentation, a few notes will also be made on non-direct and non-reported discourse.

## **2. Definition of basic concepts**

This chapter aims at a definition of three concepts which are of vital importance for the present work: the concept of hard news, genre and reported language. Also, with the aim of the work in mind, the relation between the nature and function of hard news, its generic structure and the occurrence of reported language will be briefly outlined.

### **2.1 Hard news**

There are different types of newspaper content. Bell (1991, 12-16) and Ljung (2000) mention items ranging from general hard news, soft news, feature articles, opinion and comment, leading articles, letters to the editor, reviews, obituaries, special topic news, service information such as weather or TV programme, and advertising. The present chapter aims to delineate the hard news report and its rhetorical function.

The social purpose of hard news is relatable to news values, determining the degree of newsworthiness (Bell 1991, drawing on Galtung and Ruge 1965). The hard news report aims to present an event that is newsworthy mostly due to being actually or potentially damaging, destabilizing or disrupting the status quo and accepted social norms (White 1997, 104-106; White 1998, 377). Consequently, one of the most notable news values seems to be negativity, present in news on crime and socially unacceptable behaviour, accidents, natural disasters, national and international political conflicts, war and economic problems (Bell 1991, 156; Bednarek 2006, 16). Negative events threaten to destabilize the social order by causing “aberrant damage”, re-arranging “power relations” in various spheres of human activity or by breaching “established morality or custom” (White 1997, 104-105). Interestingly, negativity may not be inherent to a reported event but only one of the possible angles on the story. Fulton (2005, 234) speaks of the so-called “moral panic” format where an event is portrayed from the angle of a threatened social and moral order in order to justify a particular opinion or argue for a change considered politically, economically or otherwise desirable.

The impact of hard news also bears relevance to the news values of recency, unexpectedness, consonance, unambiguity, relevance, geographical proximity, eliteness, attribution and personalization, and is connected to ideological positioning, objectivity, naturalization and stereotypes, arising from dialogic interaction between texts (Galtung and Ruge 1965; Bell 1991, 157; Tuchman 1978, 182-197; Gamson et al. 1992; Fulton 2005, 238; Bakhtin 1981; White 2000).

By the process of selection and identification of socially significant elements, the hard news story reinforces and helps to maintain the established norms and expectations, an aspect which makes it comparable to (other) stories or narratives (cf. Bell 1991; Östman 1999, 147-155; Fulton 2005, 218-244; Martin and Rose 2008, 74-82). However, contrary to these, hard news is purported to pursue its goal in a manner that is objective, factual, accurate, balanced and impersonal (Turow, 2009, 54-57; Iedema et al. 1994, 200). This is achieved especially by its generic structure and a significant absence of authorial evaluation (White 1998).

The degree of absence and presence of the author in the text is referred to as “authorial voice” (Iedema et al 1994, 203). Iedema et al. (1994, 203-235), later White (1998, 169-245), and Martin and White (2005, 164-184) discuss three types of journalistic voices in dependence on a number of factors, including the kind of evaluation presented and its source, i.e. the reporter or an external commentator. The authorial voice in hard news, the so-called “reporter voice”, is constructed “as impersonal, as anonymous or even absent, as the voice of the institution rather than of a human individual” (Iedema et al. 1994, 203-4). Hard news stories, of course, are not devoid of evaluation and opinion but they differ from other news texts in that the evaluative material is attributed to others and the reporter is not perceived as responsible.

The absence of authorial evaluation in the text is only a part of the picture. According to Dunn (2005, 146), objective and neutral treatment is often coupled with information models of text structure. The hard news report is associated with the model known as the ‘inverted pyramid’, discussed in chapter 4.1. In their generic approach to the structure of hard news Iedema et al. (1994) and White (1997, 1998, 2000) introduce the orbital nucleus-satellite structure. The nucleus comprises the Headline(s) and the Lead, and identifies the point of social significance, the disruption to the status quo. The body of the text comprises a number of satellites which specify the nucleus by means of e.g. elaboration, evaluation or contextualization. There are no or minimal links between satellites themselves and the report makes an impression of being a mere collection of facts centred around the nucleus without providing conclusion, explanation or cause-effect relations between individual events, which contributes to the impression of objectivity (e.g. Iedema et al. 1994, 115-120; White 1998). The nucleus-satellite structure, explained more fully in chapter 4.5.1, has implications for the rhetorical potential of the hard news story and goes hand in hand with reporter voice.

Reporter voice and the nucleus-satellite structure are the basic criteria serving the delimitation of hard news (and the selection of texts for the corpus). Both are instrumental in creating a text whose rhetorical aim is to identify a point of significance and reinforce certain

values in a manner that backgrounds the author and appeals to a mass audience (White 1998). This makes hard news different from e.g. soft news or feature articles. Soft news focuses on topics that are interesting, heart-warming, primarily about individuals, not necessarily time-bound, and aims to evoke emotional response (Tuchman 1978, 47-48; Hartley 1982, 38-9; Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 57; Fulton 2005, 238). On the other hand, hard news relies on eliteness, involving high social status, prestige or authority in a certain field of knowledge or activity, making politicians, institutions, experts and research organizations its essential ingredient (Bell 1991, 158, 191-193; Iedema et al. 1994, 226).

In comparison to the hard news report, feature articles are more extended, offer background and explanatory information, possibly also on current hard news issues, and sometimes adopt an individualized perspective (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 60). Generally, soft news and features are about events which are (presented as) less threatening and do not aim at an impartial portrayal of events. The difference in the rhetorical aim finds reflection in the presence of authorial evaluation and the difference in generic structure: a more linear and narrative structure with a final climax in the case of soft news, and/or more argumentative structure with a logical flow of information in the case of feature articles (Fulton 2005, 218-244; Dunn 2005, 140-152; Rudin and Ibbotson 2002).

Often newspapers organize and categorize their content. However, the suggested categories and order of presentation may be misleading. Ljung (2000, 133), who looks at different types of texts in British and American daily newspapers, notes that despite the general order of content presentation (for example home news is followed by international news, feature articles, leading articles, and obituaries; business and sports articles come in later sections), the pattern need not be strictly followed. He points out that different types of articles may not be overtly categorized, or seemingly homogenous categories may contain, in addition to the suggested predominant type, texts pertaining to different genres (Ljung 2000, 138). Ljung's findings are supported by Dunn's (2005, 147) observation that more feature and human interest stories appear where traditionally hard news reports are introduced. The unreliability of newspapers' own classification as well as the vagueness of the descriptive labels associated with hard news, including recency, objectivity, impersonality and importance, point to the need to apply more linguistic-based criteria, such as generic structure and authorial voice.

Another angle on the classification of news reports is the way the topic is construed – either as a material event or a verbal event (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The first type is referred to as “an event story” and deals with happenings; the second type, referred to as “an

issues report”, is grounded in a communicative event, such as “criticism, accusations, demands, warnings, discoveries or announcements” of an authorized and newsworthy source (White 1997, 102). In accordance with negative events being the staple of hard news, issues reports document communicative events (speeches, debates, interviews, press releases and research findings) which are the source of controversy, argument, contention, alarm or counter-expectation (White 1998, 76, 324). Issues reports are a rich source of reported language since the disruption to the social order is not construed as a phenomenon, but projected as a metaphenomenon (White 1997, 106; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 441-470). Consequently, issues reports as opposed to event stories are not concerned with facts or reality but with claims of supposed reality (White 1997, 106). This viewpoint cuts across soft news, hard news and feature articles.

Although the distinction between event stories and issues reports seems straightforward, in some cases it has proven difficult to apply. In a prototypical issues report the projected source of contention appears as early as in the Headline and Lead. However, it is not uncommon to come across hybrid reports in which the unexpected event in the nucleus is presented both as a material and projected process (White 1998, 337-338). Or, a report may start as an event story but the body of the text is based entirely on projection, specifying the material happening in the Headline and Lead. Since a high number of articles were found in between the two extremes rather than at either of the poles, no attempt was made to classify systematically the studied reports according to this criterion. Still, the distinction is relevant and will be applied where convenient.

## **2.2 Genre and related issues**

The present approach to genre draws on the Sydney School, based on the ideas of Systemic Functional Linguistics and associated with the works by Martin, Christie and Rothery (1987), Martin (1992), Martin and White (2005), White (1997, 1998, 2000), Iedema et al. (1994), Iedema (1997) or Martin and Rose (2008). Genre is defined as “a staged, goal-oriented social process” (Martin et al. 1987, cited e.g. in Iedema et al. 1994, 76; Martin and Rose 2008, 6). It is goal-oriented because it realizes a purpose (Iedema et al. 1994, 76). It is staged because to achieve the desired goal participants rely on certain clearly identifiable stages and not accomplishing the final steps may generate a sense of incompleteness, possibly resulting in not achieving the intended goal (Martin 1992, 502-503; Iedema et al. 1994, 76; Martin and Rose 2008, 6). And finally, genre is a social process as it is aimed at a particular

type of audience in a particular relation to the author (Martin and Rose 2008, 6). In other words, genre amounts to “recurrent configurations of meaning enact[ing] the social practices of a given culture” (Martin and Rose 2008, 6). The aim of this chapter is to compare this notion of genre with other related concepts, including text type (Biber 1988, 1989), discourse type (Virtanen 1992), style (Crystal and Davy 1969, Lee 2001) or register (Martin 1992, Eggins and Martin 1997, Couture 1986), and different approaches to genre, for example the ESP approach (Swales 1990) and the New Rhetoric approach (Freedman and Medway 1994).

Biber (1988, 1989) makes a distinction between genres and text types. Genres are text categories which are recognized by speakers, for example novels, newspaper articles, academic articles or public speeches, and which are defined on external, non-linguistic criteria, such as location, purpose or situation of use (Biber 1989, 5-6, 39). On the other hand, text types are specified by salient linguistic differences among texts, whose co-occurrence is interpreted functionally. The sets of syntactic and lexical features underlie five functional dimensions, such as involved versus informational production, narrative versus non-narrative, explicit versus situation dependent reference, the presence or absence of overt persuasion, and abstract versus non-abstract style, which help to identify eight text types, including Intimate interpersonal interaction, Informational interaction, Scientific exposition, Learned exposition, Imaginative narrative, General narrative exposition, Situated reportage and Involved persuasion (Biber 1989, 4-38). The text types show a maximal degree of similarity within a type and maximal degree of differences among types, generating a classification of texts which are “coherent in linguistic form and communicative function”, enabling to explain intra-genre linguistic differences as well as inter-genre linguistic similarities (Biber, 1989, 6).

In the effort to allow for possible discrepancies between text as a prototype and its actualised instance, Virtanen (1992) suggests a two-level typology, setting two parallel levels of types, a discourse type and a text type. Discourse type is closely related to the function or purpose of discourse and “affects the whole strategy of the text” (Virtanen 1992, 298). The basic discourse types are narrative, descriptive, instructive, expository and argumentative (Virtanen 1992, 299). Text type covers the same sort of categories but “on a level closer to the actual texts” (Virtanen 1992, 298). In actual texts which are close to prototypes, the choice of the text type coincides with the overall purpose of the text, i.e. with the superordinate discourse type, and it is then possible to speak about primary or direct use of text type. On the other hand, in secondary or indirect use, a text type not typically associated with a particular (discourse type) function is used to achieve a given communicative purpose, resulting in a mismatch between text type and discourse type (Virtanen 1992, 298). Whereas the former

combination of text type and discourse type places a text to the core, the latter places it outside it, at the periphery (Virtanen 1992, 300). Virtanen's two-level approach is comparable to a topological approach working with degrees of similarity rather than clear-cut boundaries emphasising differences (e.g. Martin and Rose 2008).

Another term used to classify texts is style. Crystal and Davy (1969, 9-10) draw attention to the multiple uses of the term: style may be used to refer to an individual's idiosyncratic employment of certain linguistic features; it may encompass the language habits of a group of people shared over a certain period of time; in its less objective meaning it is used to evaluate the effectiveness of language use, as in clear or refined style; in a more restricted use, style is used to refer to literary language. Biber and Conrad (2009, 2, 16, 18-20) understand stylistic analysis as the study of pervasive and frequent linguistic features of a particular text (sample) by a given author or a group of authors, possibly within some historical period; linguistic features are examined in terms of the author's preference and attitude to language, aesthetic value and effectiveness rather than functional motivation related to the situational context. A similar approach to style can be found in Lee (2001, 45-46), who prefers to use the term in reference to the linguistic properties of texts as used by individuals and regards the formal – informal distinction as the basic dichotomy. Crystal and Davy (1969, 12-13) themselves undertake an analysis of style aiming to identify significant or distinctive linguistic features correlated with relevant aspects of situation or extra-linguistic context, in which they play, as opposed to other alternatives, certain function. Due to a recognized and more systematic correlation between linguistic features, function and situation of use, their view of style seems to come close to the notion of register, described below.

The distinction between register and genre is articulated as the realization of the context of situation and the realization of the context of culture (Lee 2001, 46; Eggins and Martin 1997, 242-243, 251). According to Biber and Conrad (2009, 2, 6-11, 16), the analysis of register focuses on frequent and pervasive lexico-grammatical features of texts and interprets them functionally in terms of the communicative purpose they play in a particular situational context. Lexico-grammatical features are understood as generalizable choices whose appropriateness is assessed without any reference to higher textual units, and are thus not primarily a matter of complete texts. The analysis of context is considered primary to the analysis of linguistic features since the latter are derived from the former.

Genre is a cultural and ideological construct defined in terms of social purpose. It is in a probabilistic relation to achieving a given culturally established task, reflected linguistically in the way the text unfolds in stages or steps: a particular social goal is likely to be



accomplished by a particular genre (Eggins and Martin 1997, 234-237). As genre is teleologically determined, its study is concerned with patterned, larger units of discourse structure which organize texts rhetorically and since they play a role in text construction, genre analysis<sup>1</sup> requires the analysis of complete texts (Biber and Conrad 2009, 2, 16-17; Couture 1986, 80, 82; Martin 1992; Biber et al. 2007, 8; Bhatia 2004, 32; Lee 2001, 46-47). Thus the main criteria distinguishing between the notion of register and genre are text (in)completeness, the textual or lexico-grammatical nature of features, their distribution and interpretation.

SFL understands register as the configuration of meaning at the ideational, interpersonal and textual level, instantiated by texts realizing a particular “recurrent, conventionalized” contextual configuration (White 1998, 17; Martin 1992, 502). Contextual configurations are specified in terms of the values of field, tenor and mode. Field subsumes the social action or sequence of activities that are taking place and that are oriented to some institutional purpose. Tenor reflects the relationship between participants and their social status. The value of mode specifies the role played by language in the social action in terms of the number of participants, the involvement of other modalities of communication or the proportion of the social action constituted by language (White 1998, 15, 17; Iedema et al. 1994, 68-69; Halliday 1978, 143-145; Halliday and Hasan 1985, 12; Martin 1992, 508, 523, 536; Martin and Rose 2008, 14-15). The dimensions of context (field, tenor, mode) are in a probabilistic relation of correlation to meanings (ideational, interpersonal, textual) likely to be expressed in that context by a set of probable choices from the lexico-grammatical system (Eggins and Martin 1997, 233-234).

In SFL the approach to the relation between genre and register is not unified or not always clear. Halliday (1978, 145), and Halliday and Hasan (1985, 12) subsume genre as a variable of mode; Hasan at times considers genre as derived from the values of field, tenor and mode (Halliday and Hasan 1985, 100), but by claiming that obligatory elements in the text structure can be predicted from the structure of the social action (Halliday and Hasan 1985, 60, 62; also Martin 1992, 504-505), she seems to view genre primarily as a matter of field. At one time Martin sees the strata of register and genre in the relation of realization (Martin 1992, 495; White 1998, 19; Martin and Rose 2008, 16; Eggins and Martin 1997). Genre is the content plane of register, and register is the expression plane of genre; register is the content plane of language, and language is the expression plane of register. The modal is tri-stratal,

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the term confined to different literary traditions, including drama, poetry or fiction, is irrelevant for the present discussion.

including genres realized via registers and registers realized via language (Martin 1992, 495; Biber et al. 2007, 8; Swales 1990, 40; Ventola 1984, 277). Genre with its components of goal, social process and staging is engendered by the values selected from field, tenor and mode and influences which variables can be combined (Martin 1992, 495-506; White 1998, 18-19; Iedema et al. 1994, 76; Eggins and Martin 1997, 243). However, by claiming that “the system of social processes constituting a culture at the level of genre will always differ from the systems of field, mode, and tenor options it makes available in one or another contexts of situation”, Martin (1992, 562) seems to suggest a more tenuous relation between the two notions. A less direct relation between genre and register is found also in Couture (1986, 80, 88-89), who maintains that the choice of register takes place independently of the choice of genre but concedes regular association between genres and registers, contributing to the effectiveness of texts to express meaning and convey the intended message. In theoretical terms, if genre is viewed via register and register via lexico-grammar, reported language as one of the linguistic choices in the system of projection is connected to genre via the intermediate stratum of register. As explained in chapter 2.4, the perspective adopted to the interpretation of reported language is that of genre, working with the notions of staging and generic structure, goal and culture.

The following paragraphs will briefly compare the concept of genre in the British tradition of English for Special Purposes (Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993) and the American New Rhetoric tradition (Freedman and Medway 1994). The Sydney School is concerned with social aspects, communicative purpose and formal properties (Martin et al. 1987, cited e.g. in Iedema et al. 1994, 76; Martin and Rose 2008, 6). These issues are also present in the ESP and New Rhetoric school, but each strand puts different emphasis on different aspects, which also reflects in concrete application to texts. The following paragraphs will specify the main differences as well as the areas of overlap.

Swales (1990, 58) defines genre as a communicative event with given communicative purposes recognized by members of the discourse community. A communicative event is restricted to situations in which language is “significant and indispensable” rather than “incidental”, and includes discourse and all aspects of its production and perception, including broader social and cultural environment (Swales 1990, 45-46). Communicative purpose is defined as a shared goal of communication, identifiable with different degrees of ease and possibly involving a set of purposes. For instance, the purpose of a recipe is to provide instructions to ensure achieving gastronomic success (Swales 1990, 46-48). Swales’s (1990, 24) discourse community is a sociorhetorical community in which the pursuit of common

objectives and goals is primary and prior to the pursuit of socialization and solidarity, and acceptance is conditioned by training or qualification. Discourse community is defined on the basis of six criteria: common goals, participatory mechanisms, information exchange, community specific genres, specialized terminology and a high level of expertise (Swales 1990, 24-29). For the criticism of the notion of discourse community see e.g. Ljung (2000).

Communicative purpose in a particular setting affects the schematic structure of discourse and constraints its content and style. The central interest of the ESP tradition lies especially in finding regularities in the organization of discourse by means of which the rhetorical purpose is achieved (Bhatia 2004, 9-10). It is concerned with the analysis of texts into discourse units, or moves, performing a specific communicative function (Swales 1990; Bhatia 2004, Connor et al. 2007). Moves vary in length, frequency of occurrence, obligatoriness or optionality, and possible recurrence (Connor et al. 2007, 31). Although their identification is function-based, they can be described in terms of typical distinct linguistic features and consist of a number of steps (Swales 1990) or strategies (Bhatia 1993) enabling the achievement of the communicative purpose of the move. Furthermore, there is a marked emphasis on the application of genre theory in education, including non-native speakers of English, an idea which is also close to SFL (e.g. Iedema et al. 1994, Swales 1990).

Although the New Rhetoric stream recognizes form as an aspect pertaining to the concept of genre, it does not view it as central and moves away from the emphasis on form, textual features and regularities, and highlights the importance of external factors, be they social, cultural or institutional (Freedman and Medway 1994, 1-2). Genre is defined by reference to its rhetorical purpose and is conceived as a social action embedded in a social context (Miller 1994, 23-42). Contexts or situations are seen as recurrent social rather than material occurrences exhibiting similarities on the basis of which it is possible to construe a situation type (Miller 1994, 29-30). Genres are understood as “typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations” and gain meaning “from situation and from the social context” (Miller 1994, 31, 37). In these aspects, the New Rhetoric overlaps with the ESP and SFL traditions. Also, the New Rhetoric foregrounds the dynamic quality of genres, which it sees as a response to socio-cultural phenomena and their changes (Freedman and Medway 1994, 9; Miller 1994, 25-27, 38). The dynamic aspect of genre is, however, also present within SFL and ESP (White 1998; Bhatia 2004, 23-25; Martin and Rose 2008, 241-244, 259).

Except drawing away from textual facets of genre there is also a difference in the importance ascribed to the application of genre theory to pedagogical purposes (Freedman and Medway 1994, 9). According to Freedman (1994, 63-64), teaching form in the classroom

cannot ensure successful mastering of genre because there are other factors at play, such as its ceremonial nature confined to a particular place, in both literal and metaphorical sense, the absence of a receiver, and the relation to and overlap with other genres.

According to White (1998, 76-78), Swalesian (1990) approach is not entirely incompatible with that of SFL. Both approaches highlight the role of social context and the rhetorical functionality of genre achieved by means of its generic structure. The aspects of goal, stage and social process are close to Swales's (1990, 58) communicative purpose, schematic structure and discourse community respectively. The Sydney School was preferred since the ESP approach focuses on professional genres and does not address the genre of hard news, and the New Rhetoric marginalizes generic structure in general. Moreover, the most influential work on the genre of hard news (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1998) has been done in the framework of the Sydney School.

### **2.3 Reported language**

Since reported language represents both the means and object of reference, it ranks among one of the reflexive uses of language (Lucy 1993, 12). Reality is not represented directly but reported or projected via a clause, which constructs it as a locution (wording) or idea (meaning), and what is said or written is attributed to other sources, held responsible for the reported content (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 378, 441; Sinclair 1988, 23). Reported language has received attention from philosophers, linguists and literary analysts, who have studied it from a myriad of angles with different degrees of overlap and compatibility, including purely theoretical and conceptual, logical, formal, semantic, textual, discoursal and pragmatic point of view.

Philosophical pursuit of reported language lies especially in the investigation of truth value and truth conditions; it looks at the differences and relation between the *use* of language, directed at any other object or entity, and metalanguage, i.e. language directed at or used to describe language, in which case language is both means and end, and the language as object is only *mentioned* (Lyons 1995, 6-11; Quine 1940, cited in Lucy 1993, 12). Particular attention is devoted to the difference between direct quotation, oratio recta, and indirect quotation, oratio obliqua, in connection with verbatimness, the possibility of substitution and truth conditions; direct speech is referred to as *de dicto* interpretation and indirect speech as *de re* interpretation (Quine 1976, cited in Lucy 1993, 13-14). Cappelen and Lepore (2007) present an overview as well as their own contribution to the study of direct, indirect and

mixed quotations (non-direct forms with stretches of a partial direct quote) from the point of view of reflexivity and logic. Clark and Gerrig (1990) study forms of reported language within the framework of demonstration theory, distinguishing between language as demonstration, a form of non-serious action (direct discourse), and language as description (indirect discourse) and various combinations of these.

In the literary tradition focus is placed on the artistic employment of direct, indirect and especially free indirect speech. Vološinov (1986, 115-159) examines various ways of presentation from the point of view of autonomy and modification of form and content, and the stylistic and aesthetic effects different forms and the interaction between them and context may achieve. Banfield (1973, 1982, 1993, 341-352) offers a grammatical analysis of forms and expressions permissible or non-permissible in direct, indirect (reported) and free indirect (represented) speech and interprets them in terms of point of view and their potential to fulfil expressive and communicative function. Leech and Short (1981) make an important stylistic contribution to the study of reported language in fiction and offer a scalar approach to forms of presentation, working mainly with the notion of faithfulness of reproduction. Pascal (1977) examines free indirect style in European novels. Ehrlich (1990) studies free indirect style and point of view in literary texts, highlighting the role of context and cohesion. Cohn (1978) is interested in various forms of presenting thought and consciousness in fiction. Fludernik (1993) offers a comprehensive overview of the works on direct, indirect and especially free indirect speech.

One approach to reported language and directness is that of a continuum between forms with maximum degree of directness and forms with its total absence (Leech and Short 1981, Semino et al. 1997, Short et al. 1998, Semino and Short 2004). Directness bears a close relation to reporting and reported speaker's perspective and control over the reported content. According to Sanders and Redeker (1993, 69), perspective is "a subjective viewpoint that restricts the validity of the presented information to a particular person in the discourse". Similarly, Toolan (1988, 68) talks about the angle from which things are felt, understood and assessed; Genette (1980, 162) defines it metaphorically as "participant's vision" of an event. Consequently, whatever is reported belongs to the discourse world of the reported speaker and may have the effect of distancing, removing responsibility or impersonal reporting, excluding the perspective of the reporting speaker. The notion of perspective is not confined only to the

area of reported language; for an extensive treatment of the topic see e.g. Genette (1980, 161-262).<sup>2</sup>

The concept of perspective is also close to the notions of dialogue, heteroglossia and intertextuality, highly relevant to the nature and function of reported language (Bakhtin 1981, Fairclough 1992, White 1998, Martin and White 2005). Monoglossia and heteroglossia refer to the absence and presence of dialogue in the text, understood as an interaction between different voices (Bakhtin 1981, Vološinov 1986, Fairclough 1992, Martin and White 2005). In Bakhtin's (1981, 281) terms, dialogue is understood as "the background of other concrete utterances on the same theme, a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements ... in the consciousness of the listener, ... pregnant with responses and objections". The presence of one point of view implies the existence of other potential opinions operating at the background: a reported proposition or proposal becomes one of many and creates space for dialogic tension and negotiation, in anticipation of potential adversary reaction (e.g. White 1998, Martin and White 2005). The dialogue between a text and "implied or understood array of alternative texts" is thus essentially an issue of intertextuality (White 1998, 138). While discussing the role of reported language in bringing in divergent voices, Fairclough (1992, 104) talks about "manifest intertextuality", i.e. explicit presence of other texts. As will be shown later, different forms of presentation differ in the extent to which they reflect the perspective of the reported speaker and the reporting speaker, i.e. the journalist, and thus can to different extent respond to the need for heteroglossia and alternative ideological positioning.

Even though both perspective and voice can be evoked by forms of presentation, there is a clear difference in focus: perspective is connected to directness and expressivity stemming from the prevalent deictic orientation to either the reporting or reported situation, whereas voice is connected to opinion and ideological positioning. The term point of view is rather problematic since it is used to define both perspective and voice (see above). In the present work the term *point of view* is employed in the sense close to *voice*, often but not exclusively appearing in the context of other related notions, including heteroglossia, dialogue between and empathy with alternative opinions.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Genette (1980, 186) makes a distinction between voice, answering the question of 'who speaks?', and mood (perspective/point of view), answering the question of 'who sees?'. Here the term voice is used in Bakhtin's sense, described below.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter 4.5.1 introduces yet another term – angle, referring to those aspects of an event in the extra-linguistic reality which are considered of primary importance and have been selected for emphasis in the nucleus (Headline and Lead) of hard news (White 1998, 371). When the items *angle*, *point of view* and *perspective* are used non-terminologically, their non-technical use is clear from the context.

The study of reported language in linguistics and pragmatics represents an immensely rich area and the overview presented here will be necessarily sketchy and incomplete. Looking at reported discourse from a broader perspective of its place in the system of language, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 441-482) include it in the discussion of the clause complex, more specifically the system of projection, covering reporting language, ideas (thought) and facts. Projection is a logico-semantic relation in which a clause does not represent a non-linguistic experience but functions as a representation of linguistic representation (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 441), and is thus essentially reflexive or metalinguistic. The main aspects of their classification are the mode of projection (taxis and constituency), level of projection (verbal locution versus mental idea), and speech function, i.e. reporting propositions and proposals (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 443-445). Quirk et al. (1985, 1020-1033) also deal with reported language in connection with the complex sentence, distinguishing two main types, namely direct and indirect speech, and their free forms. They touch upon the issues of the grammatical status of the reported and reporting clause, position of the reporting clause, verbatimness, backshift of tenses and other items, and communicative sentence types. Deictic and syntactic properties of (free) direct and (free) indirect speech are also dealt with in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1027-1030).

Reported language has also been studied within the domain of interpersonal meaning. White (1998) and Martin and White (2005) study reported language within the system of appraisal, consisting of three sub-systems, namely attitude, engagement and graduation. In their approach they draw on Vološinov (1986) and Bakhtin (1981) and the idea of voice, monoglossia and heteroglossia. The sub-system of engagement describes the ways in which the author can position (i.e. engage) himself against or with alternative voices and positions, negotiate the relationship of alignment or disalignment with diverse values, attitudes and beliefs that resonate at the background, including those of the reader, and express tolerance for or solidarity with different viewpoints (Martin and White 2005, 94-96). Engagement disposes of the resources that can establish a heteroglossic, i.e. multi-voiced, backdrop, and either contract (close) the dialogic space or expand (open) it (Martin and White 2005, 102-104, 134). Reported language is dealt with in the category of attribution, which represents a proposition “as grounded in the subjectivity<sup>4</sup> of an external voice... [and thus] as but one of a range of possible options” (Martin and White 2005, 98, 111-117). There may be overlaps between attribution and other categories of engagement because they also express the meanings of contraction and expansion, but differ in the language resources.

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<sup>4</sup> Subjectivity may be understood here as close to the meaning of perspective.

Bednarek (2006, 2009) also considers reported language a means of evaluation. Contrary to White (1998) and Martin and White (2005), she does not work with separate sub-systems but bases her approach on a network of evaluative parameters of various kinds which can co-occur, allowing for cases in which evaluative meanings combine and avoiding the either-or dilemma. Reported language and thought overlap primarily with her group of peripheral evaluative parameters, especially the meanings of hearsay and mindsay belonging to the category of evidentiality, or the meanings of e.g. dis/belief, emotion, expectation and knowledge belonging to the category of mental state (Bednarek 2006, 42, 53-56). However, as a reflection of her parameter approach, aspects that bear relevance to reported language may cut across other categories, such as style encompassing the meanings expressed usually by the reporting element, for instance illocutionary force, or paralinguistic and discourse signals (Bednarek 2006, 42, 57-58). The combination of different types of appraisal is captured in her notion of “polyphony” (Bednarek 2009).<sup>5</sup> A reference to reported language is made in Lemke (1998), a smaller scale study also endorsing a parameter approach to evaluation. All three systems of appraisal will be referred to in later chapters.

Interpersonal view of reported language can also be found in McGregor (1997, 251-264) and Stubbs (1986). McGregor (1997, 252-270) classifies reported language as one of the framing structures, alongside constructions with a speech (thought) verb introducing, for instance, an explicit performative. The reporting clause functions as an interpersonal frame to the reported clause, overlaying it with the meaning of non-commitment on the part of the reporting speaker (McGregor 1997, 269). In his distinction of direct and indirect discourse, he places emphasis on the notion of perspective and the scope of the frame (reporting clause) over the reported clause (McGregor 1997, 254-255, 260, 262). Stubbs’s (1986) treatment of reported language is not grounded in any systematic theoretical discussion but explored together in the context of other lexical and grammatical resources of interpersonal and modal meaning, especially speech and private verbs, which may serve to express illocutionary force, agreement or disagreement, allegiance and dissociation, or commitment and detachment.

Aikhenvald (2004, 132-142) draws attention to semantic and functional similarities (and differences) of reported speech to one sub-system of evidentiality, more specifically the grammaticalised reported evidential, marking that what is said originated as someone else’s verbal act. In the broad (ungrammaticalised) sense, evidentiality strategies may include any expression possibly interpreted as signalling “truth, commitment or speaker’s authority”

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<sup>5</sup> Bednarek’s (2009) notion of polyphony referring to the multiplicity of evaluative meanings is different from but inspired by the concept of polyphony referring to the plurality of voices (Bakhtin 1973, 4, cited in Bednarek 2009, 110-111).



(Aikhenvald 2004, 149). In English, where evidentiality is not grammaticalised, such alternative expressions may include reported language, parenthetical comment clauses or adverbials (Aikhenvald 2004, 10). True evidentials and non-grammaticalised expressions with possible evidential interpretation are employed to serve similar purposes, e.g. avoiding and removing responsibility from the speaker, expressing attitude towards the content, distancing, emphasis and a number of rhetorical and stylistic ends (Aikhenvald, 2004, 135-151). These functions are among the most frequently cited roles of reported language. Bednarek (2006, 21-23) offers a brief overview of the narrow and broad stance towards evidentiality, paying attention especially to Chafe (1986), who endorses the latter view and includes reported speech, a marker of hearsay, in his system of evidentiality.

Since reported language has been studied in different fields and from different angles, there are a number of various terms used to refer to the phenomenon, which may to a different extent emphasise its particular feature or reflect the chosen conceptual framework.<sup>6</sup> For instance, Vandelanotte (2009) refers to speech and thought representation, Semino et al. (1997) and Semino and Short (2004) refer to discourse (speech, writing, thought) presentation; Waugh (1995) uses simply reported speech; Fairclough (1998, 1992) prefers discourse representation; Sinclair (1988) contrasts averral and attribution; Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) talk about projection – either of reports or quotes. As the present work draws on the works by Semino and Short (Semino et al. 1997, Semino and Short 2004), their terminology will be retained and reported language will be referred to as (free) in/direct forms of presentation. Occasionally, other terms, especially *attribution*, *projection*, *report* or *reported discourse*, may be employed as well. If not stated otherwise or suggested by the context, they will be used interchangeably with the term *presentation* without any indication of possible theoretical background associated with them.

Reported language has been studied in many genres, including the genre of hard news.<sup>7</sup> As regards newspaper discourse, Semino et al. (1997), Short et al. (1998), Semino and Short (2004) study the frequency of occurrence of the individual forms of presentation in general; Waugh (1995) talks about the form and function of reported language; Short (1988) looks at direct reported discourse in the headlines; Weizman (1984) looks for common patterns in the use of reported language in French, English and Hebrew newspapers; Redeker (1996) and Ikeo (2007) study the occurrence and nature of free indirect discourse in news

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<sup>6</sup> See Short et al. (2002) and Vandelanotte (2009, 10-11) for the discussion of terminology.

<sup>7</sup> Except the above mentioned fiction and corpus studies, forms of presentation have been studied in academic writing (Swales 1986, Baynham 1999, Hyland 1999, White 2004, Charles 2006), institutional discourse (Baynham and Slembrouck 1999) and various kinds of spoken language (Tannen 1986, Tannen 2007, Myers 1999, Clift 2006, Hickman 1993).

reports; Sanders and Redeker (1993) study reported language as a means of establishing perspective in short news stories; Lehrer (1989) and Short et al. (2002) study the changes made to direct quotes and the concept of faithfulness in news reports; Fairclough (1988) shows how primary (non-reported) and secondary (reported) language blend and affect each other stylistically; based on the study of Austrian press, Gruber (1993) examines reported language as an evaluation device; Floyd (2000) shows how the choice of reporting verbs can indicate bias and attitude; Fairclough (1992, 100-136) views reported language as one of the means of manifest intertextuality and a means of transmitting ideology, establishing and reinforcing power relations; similarly, McDonald (2008), Knox and Patpong (2008), and Höglund (2008) present case studies focused on the relation between reported language, control, reading position and objectivity; Smirnova (2009) examines how reported language contributes to argumentation.

The countless approaches within and across disciplines have resulted in many different classifications of reported language. Chapter 5 will briefly introduce the most commonly cited, such as McHale (1978), Thompson (1996), Smirnova (2009) or Vandelandotte (2009), and will discuss in detail the classification employed in the present analysis, introduced in Leech and Short (1981) and gradually modified in Semino et al. (1997), Short et al. (1998) and Semino and Short (2004). The chosen classification has the advantage of being based on and applied to a large corpus of data representing different genres, including popular and serious newspaper reports, autobiography and fiction writings.

## **2.4 Aim of the thesis: direct forms of presentation in the generic structure of hard news**

The aim of the thesis is to map the function and distribution of direct forms of presentation in the genre of hard news. The approach to genre in general and the genre of hard news in particular is based on the ideas proposed within Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin 1992, Iedema et al. 1994, Iedema 1997, White 1997, 1998, Eggins and Martin 1997, Martin and White 2005). The approach to reported language draws on the works by Leech and Short (1981), Semino et al. (1997), Short et al. (1998) and Semino and Short (2004).

The interpretation of direct forms of presentation takes into account the aspects relevant to generic analysis, namely the completion of a culturally and socially defined goal via the rhetorical structure of text, comprising a number of conventionalized stages. Applied to the genre of hard news, direct forms will be examined predominantly with regard to their role in the elementary stages of the text whose rhetorical purpose is to identify and chronicle a

socially significant event or pronouncement in a manner that is impersonal and seemingly objective but which reflects and reinforces the underlying social values.

Focusing on the aspect of staging, the frequency and function of direct forms will be interpreted vis-à-vis the function and peculiarities of the Headline and Lead in the nucleus, and the individual satellites which specify them by means of Elaboration, Contextualization, Appraisal, Consequence, Concession, Justification, or Counter-Justification (Iedema et al. 1994, Iedema 1997, White 1997, 1998). Focusing on the social aspects, the interpretation considers the factors of the reporter and the audience. The heterogeneity of the intended audience will be seen as one of the reasons for the nucleus-satellite arrangement, operating in combination with reporter voice (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1998). The nucleus identifies the point of social significance in the beginning, sets a common optics on a piece of reality and has a unifying function, bridging possible differences in ideological positioning and the value attached to certain aspects of the event by members of the audience. A different way to tackle diversity is not to efface differences but try to embrace them by showing solidarity, defined as a degree of empathy with divergent social positions and openness to negotiation (White 1998, 47, 376-413). It is these voices at the background which are heard among the mass audience and which the hard news story may need to take into account.

On the other hand, in line with reporter voice the presence of the journalist is minimised (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1998). The combination of novelty and social, political or economic significance of the event means that not only expressing evaluation but also interpretation, explanation and other causal relations between events may be a risky and uncertain enterprise. Direct forms of presentation have the potential to restrict the validity of the reported content to the reported speaker, remove it from the perspective of the reporting speaker and thus shift the responsibility away from the latter, distancing him from the events recounted (Fulton 2005, 239; Redeker and Sanders 1993, 69). This brings us back to the function of different satellites and the occurrence of direct forms in them. Reported language gives an opportunity not only to eradicate to a certain extent the voice of the journalist, it simultaneously brings in the voices of others, opens space to dialogic negotiation and interaction pregnant with multiple values and judgments, and avoids presenting the point of disruption as something accepted, taken for granted or fact-like. The presence of quotes makes a newspaper report not an unchallengeable gospel but one of many other conceivable accounts, and is one of the basic means of creating a heteroglossic backdrop accommodating alternative opinions and value judgements, including those of the audience (Bell 1991, 190; Bakhtin 1981; Fairclough 1992; White 1998; Martin and White 2005, 92-100).

### **3. Corpus and methodology**

This chapter is devoted to the description of the corpus in terms of its size and text selection. Also, it outlines the basic methodological decisions concerning generic analysis and the analysis of reported language.

#### **3.1 The Corpus**

The corpus comprises news reports excerpted from the printed versions of the main British daily broadsheet newspapers (e.g. Jucker 1992, 47-48), namely The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Independent and The Times. The news reports were taken from the issues published in the years 2010 and 2011. The Daily Telegraph issues were published on 28 July 2010, 6 October 2010 and 6 December 2011; The Guardian issues were published on 29 July 2010, 7 October 2010 and 7 December 2011; The Independent outputs covered those appearing on 29 July 2010, 7 October 2010, 15 December 2011 and 29 December 2011; finally, The Times were published on 28 July 2010, 6 October 2010, 6 December 2011 and 29 December 2011. Some of The Daily Telegraph, Independent and Times issues were international editions. The reason for the inclusion of two December issues of The Times and The Independent instead of one is that the July and October issues did not provide sufficient amount of data for the two subcorpora.

The corpus consists of print versions of the newspapers and does not contain any online articles. Bednarek (2006, 220) observes that the degree of overlap between print and online articles may vary. Comparing print and online news, Rademann (1998, 54-56) draws attention to possible differences in the target audience, the depth of treatment due to different constraints on space, and the advantage of multi-modal presentation and hyper-text references in online news. Lewis (2003) adds the differences in the source(s) of information, layering of content in terms of detail, fuzzy boundaries between discrete stories as well as past and present, and finally stylistic differences. Although no close examination was conducted, it may be assumed that these differences may bear relevance to the generic make-up of the online news article. Indeed, Rademann (1998, 66) talks about online news reports as a new genre; Lewis (2003, 98), drawing on Paul (1995) and Pavlik (2001), refers to the so-called “annotative journalism” and “contextual journalism” respectively. For a more detailed comparison of print and online news, see Barnhurst (2002a, 2002b).

As recommended by Bell (1991, 22-23), only weekday editions were included since weekend and weekday outputs may differ considerably, especially in content. Although

variation can also be found across weekdays, not all weekdays were equally covered (only Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays). The reports were selected so that they covered no or few season-bound or special occasion events (e.g. the British Conservative Conference in October 2010). As each month the issues were published on the same day or within two consecutive days, there is a degree of overlap in content, which offers a possibility to compare the way reported language is employed in different news reports in different newspapers. At the same time, each issue includes events not selected for coverage in the other newspapers so the corpus as a whole also contains a degree of thematic heterogeneity. Although content may be a relevant factor, the choice of individual issues (and news stories) was driven by purposes other than content analysis and there were other more decisive criteria for text selection.

The criteria for text selection differ in reliability and significance. The first factor was the section of the newspaper; all reports were excerpted from national and international news sections to the exclusion of specialised sections, such as sports or business. However, as argued by Ljung (2000, 138) or Dunn (2005, 147), overt section marking, if present, may not always be a reliable signpost as even news section can contain different kinds of writing, such as features or human interest articles. The two decisive criteria applied to the definition and selection of hard news reports were generic structure and authorial voice (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1998). Despite the fact that these aspects describe different properties, they are both instrumental in contributing to (the impression of) the objective and impersonal style of hard news. Theme and recency are often concomitant factors but they were not central to the selection process. The selection of texts and the construction of the corpus were to a degree cyclical since as the analyses proceeded, some texts were discarded because they did not comply with the criteria (see e.g. Biber and Conrad 2009, 9-10).

Despite clearly articulated criteria – a recognizably dominant nucleus-satellite structure combined with the impersonal tone of reporter voice – the chosen text tokens are not ideal types and may “fall somewhere on a gradient between ... two extremes” (Iedema et al. 1994, 233). It is thus more convenient to understand text classification as based not only on the differences, categorical opposition and either-or class membership but also on the degree of affiliation with a particular genre and the degree of similarity between genres, which are conceived as “graded, fuzzily bounded rather than absolute categories” (White 1998, 33, 83-84; also Martin and Rose 2008). The two approaches are complementary; the former represents typological point of view and the latter topological point of view.

The homogeneity of the corpus must be necessarily only relative to the abstract prototype. For instance, the topic may not be disrupting the moral or social status quo yet it is

significant for it brings to light a piece of news that challenges the information status quo; moreover the report adheres to reporter voice and nucleus-satellite structure (e.g. App. 2A, DT37, DT44; App. 2B, G27; App. 2D, T10). Or, in the largely predominating nucleus-satellite structure, there may be minor deviations (see chapters 4.5.4 and 4.5.6), without however changing entirely the rhetorical functionality of the report. Even though not all selected texts may be instantiations of the prototypical hard news, by the combination of factors which are functionally related it is possible to ensure that the texts are close enough to the prototype.

Other criteria are related more to the purpose of the work rather than text categorization. As the aim is to examine the employment of (free) direct and partially quoted forms of presentation in the generic structure, one of the conditions for the inclusion of a text in the corpus was the presence of at least one direct/partially quoted form. Also, in order to be able to map the distribution of forms of presentation, the reports were selected so that they did not contain fewer than three satellites. A tentative observation of hard news suggests that the number of three satellites represents under-average rather than average value and seems to be capable of showing the orbital nucleus-satellite pattern.

As shown in Table 1, the corpus contains 175 texts comprising 76, 945 words<sup>8</sup> in which altogether 1027 unambiguous direct forms of presentation of various types were found. Looking at the percentage of words quoted directly in all forms of presentation, the numbers range from 22.3% in The Daily Telegraph to 24.3% in The Times and the ratio for the whole corpus is 23.3%. On the whole the words quoted directly represent more than one fifth of the total number of words, which shows the importance of direct forms of presentation for the genre of hard news.

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<sup>8</sup> The newspaper sub-corpus presented in Semino and Short (2004) comprises 83, 036 words of both tabloid and broadsheet news reports. The corpus will serve as a reference point for the comparison of the frequency of occurrence of direct forms of presentation.

Newspaper	№ of Articles	Words total	Average № of words per article	Words quoted/%	№ of direct forms	№ of direct forms per 1000 words
Daily Telegraph	50	18,290	365.8	4 072/22.3	258	14.1
Guardian	40	21,024	526.6	5 049/24.0	256	12.2
Independent	40	17,553	438.8	3 970/22.6	257	14.6
Times	45	20,078	446.2	4 869/24.3	256	12.8
Total	175	76,945		17,960/23.3	1027	

Table 1: The Corpus

According to Biber (1990, 262-3; 1993, 252-3), a sample of 10 texts of the same genre or register shows a considerable stability in the occurrence of frequent linguistic features such as noun or prepositional phrases and so can reproduce the properties of a larger sample of texts of the same genre. Moreover, Biber (1990, 259-261; 1993, 249) considers a 1000 word text segment of sufficient length to ensure representativeness of the corpus. As the average word length of a hard news text ranges from 365.8 in The Daily Telegraph to 526.6 in the Guardian, this criterion cannot be met; however in the light of the aim of the thesis the criterion of text completeness is more important than the size measured in words. The frequency of direct forms of presentation per 1000 words ranges from 12.2 forms in the Guardian to 14.6 in the Independent. The present corpus considerably exceeds the minimum number of texts in a sample (within and across a newspaper), which could compensate for the lower frequency of some forms of presentation, especially thought reports, some forms of direct writing and free indirect style in general. Similarly, not all satellite types in the generic structure occurred with the same frequency (e.g. Cause-Effect relations or Balance described in chapter 4.5.3). Although for the function and use of underrepresented forms of reported language and satellite types no hard and fast conclusions can be made, their relative absence is a telling indicator of the characteristics and function of the hard news story.

The four subcorpora contain almost identical number of direct forms of presentation: 256 (The Guardian, The Times), 257 (The Independent) and 258 (The Daily Telegraph). They differ in terms of the number of reports (40 to 50), the sub-total word count (17,553 to 21,024), the average number of words per report (365.8 to 526.6) and the percentage of words quoted directly, ranging from 22.3% to 24.3%. The number of direct forms per 1000 words also differs, ranging from 12.2 to 14.6. The Guardian subcorpus, for instance, contains comparatively longer news reports than the other three subcorpora, fewer direct forms per 1000 words (12.2) but features the second highest extent of the quoted words (24.0%). On the

contrary, The Daily Telegraph subcorpus contains generally shorter reports with the second highest number of direct forms per 1000 words (14.1) but the lowest proportion of directly quoted words (22.3%). The differences between the four subcorpora will be disregarded and conclusions will be made on the basis of the whole corpus.

Apart from large-scale multi-genre corpora including newspaper texts (LOB/FLOB, BNC, The Bank of English, LGSWE), there are also corpora specialising in news discourse, such as the Reuters corpus, a diachronic corpus of newspaper headlines (Schneider 2000) and a corpus of early English newspapers, the Zurich English Newspaper Corpus (Fries and Schneider 2000). The corpora used by studies focusing on different aspects of modern newspaper discourse are of comparable size (Bednarek 2006, Semino and Short 2004) or smaller in extent; for example, White (1998) bases his research on 22 texts, Downing (2000) uses 30 hard news stories and Martin and White (2005) use 60 news-page items. Jucker (1991) relies on 371 texts but does not adduce the size in running words.

All the analysed texts are listed in Appendices 2A-2D. Each text is accompanied by an abbreviation signalling the source, The Daily Telegraph (DT), The Guardian (G), The Times (T) or The Independent (I), and the number of the article within each type of newspaper. Thus, for example, *DT1* refers to the first text in the Daily Telegraph section.

### **3.2 Reported language**

This chapter is devoted to the decisions concerning the analysis of reported language. The classification of reported language and thought is based on the taxonomy introduced by Leech and Short (1981), Semino et al. (1997), Short et al. (1998) and mainly Semino and Short (2004). Even though primary focus is placed on direct forms of presentation and non-direct forms are excluded from detailed discussion, the corpus was annotated for non-direct forms too. There were two reasons for this decision. First, in order to assess fully the distribution of direct forms in the generic structure, at least crude comparison with the distribution of narration and non-direct forms seems desirable. Second, in the analysis direct forms of presentation are difficult to separate from non-direct forms due to their co-occurrence in embedded structures, i.e. structures where one form contains within itself another form (e.g. Semino and Short 2004, 33-35). Also, often embedding of forms as well as their linear ordering seems to derive from their function in the generic structure and even though the co-occurrence of direct and non-direct forms will not be given full attention, its complete disregard would result in the loss of valuable information.



The basic distinction was between narration (N), i.e. a piece of discourse presented as journalist's own language (including narration with scare quotes, N-sq, which enclose journalist's words, discussed in more detail e.g. in chapter 6.2) and a form of presentation overtly attributed to a source different from the journalist and presented as speech, writing or thought. In the majority of cases the distinction between narration and reported language was straightforward; in the case of uncertainty as to a possible reporting status, reference was made to Wierzbicka's (1987) dictionary of speech act verbs and Ballmer and Brennenstuhl's (1981) classification of speech acts. If necessary, ambiguity was postulated, especially due to polysemy and close relation between the system of reporting and other evidentiality marking items.

Regarding reported language, the basic distinction was between speech, writing and thought. Following Semino and Short (2004), a form of presentation was interpreted as speech unless there was an explicit signal in the text to the contrary. The indication of writing includes the reporting signal or reference to situational contexts in which conventionally writing rather than speech is involved, such as presentation of scientific achievements or what may be referred to as institutional discourse, i.e. discourse acts by authorities, political bodies or legal institutions. Admittedly, the latter case is difficult to delimit in its entirety and assess reliably, which sometimes resulted in the postulation of ambiguity between speech and writing. Even though the occurrence of speech was probably overestimated at the expense of writing, in the interpretation the distinction is often not at issue or emphasis is put on the contrast between language and thought reports.

If relevant, forms of presentation were divided into the reported content and the reporting signal. However, the reporting signal is in fact a part of narration produced solely by the journalist. The reporting signal, referred to as narrator's report of speech (NRS), writing (NRW) or thought (NRT), was distinguished because its presence or absence together with its form and structural relation to the reported element proves of fundamental importance in the categorization of forms of presentation. It may refer to a reporting clause or any other functional equivalent separate from the reported content e.g. a reporting noun or adverbial (Semino and Short, 2004, 35-39).

The classification of forms of attribution is based on their syntactic and deictic properties and includes the following: (free) direct speech, writing and thought abbreviated to (F)DS, (F)DW, F(DT); (free) indirect speech, writing and thought abbreviated to (F)IS, (F)IW, (F)IT; narrator's representation of speech, writing and thought act abbreviated to NRSA, NRWA and NRTA; and finally, minimal forms of presentation, namely narrator's

representation of voice, writing and internal narration abbreviated to NV, NW and NI respectively. If convenient, speech, writing and thought reports may be subsumed under the category of (reported) discourse (D), as in free direct discourse (FDD). In addition, all forms except FDD and DD may be referred to by the label *non-direct* forms of presentation, covering FID, ID, NRDA and minimal forms.

The analysis also captures specific features which may not reflect syntactic or deictic criteria and cut across the classification, showing variable compatibility with different forms. These features include partial *quotation* (-q), *topic* (-p), *hypothetical* forms (-h) and *inferred* thought (-i). Also, the analysis notes the presence of *embedding* (-e), i.e. structures in which a host form of presentation contains within itself another form of presentation, and the hierarchy between these forms. In case ambiguity arises, both (or more) alternatives are marked, separated by a double forward slash (/).

The system of tags and sub-tags has been adopted from Semino and Short (2004) with minor modifications. The notational system includes the capitalised tags abbreviating the basic categories of forms of presentation and narration combined with non-capitalised hyphenated sub-tags abbreviating the specific features and embedding. Tags and sub-tags are accompanied by typographical conventions and both systems are introduced mainly in chapters 5.5.2 and 5.5.3 during the discussion of the individual forms of presentation, revised later in Appendix 1A and supplied with a more detailed description of less frequent phenomena and examples. Suffice it to say now that all instances of pure direct or partially quoted discourse are marked in bold.

### **3.3 Genre analysis**

This chapter is devoted to the description of the main methodological decisions concerning the analysis of generic structure, influenced by the approach adopted to the genre of hard news, its most distinct properties and the aim of the work. The analysis draws mainly on the ideas advocated by Iedema et al. (1994) and White (1997, 1998, 2000). The analysis combines the point of view of staging distinguishing between the Headline(s), the Lead and the body of the text with the relational point of view specifying the relation between the nucleus, consisting of the Headline(s) and the Lead, and a number of satellites found in the body of the text. Two reports were found to contain a Kicker (App. 2C, I10; App. 2D, T25), a lead-in Headline in the form of an introductory paragraph, presenting the content and the name of the journalist (Iedema et al. 1994, 169; Zelizer and Allan 2010, 66). Some reports

contain a closure, the so-called wrap-up (or Wrap-up), which could be regarded as an additional albeit not fully conventionalised stage, discussed more in 4.5.3 and 4.5.6.

With the purpose of the analysis in mind and for simplicity sake, irrelevant sections were edited out so that only the Headline(s), Kicker, Lead and the body of the text (satellites) including closure were retained. The sections like report headings, specifying the place and/or the date of origin of the report, section headings, specifying the section of the newspaper according to its content, bylines with writers' names as well as captions and images were left out (Schneider 2000, 48; Bell 1991, 13, 15). The original paragraphing has been removed but the paragraph boundaries are indicated by a number sign (#) placed at the beginning of each paragraph.

As emphasised in 4.5.3, the main criterion for the identification of the satellite type was its relation to the nucleus and the kind of specification it provided. The nucleus-satellite relation was always preferred to a possible satellite-satellite relation, disregarding potential signs of linearity and relations between adjacent satellites (except sub-satellites or concessive/concurring sequences described in 4.5.4 and 4.5.6). The taxonomy of relations was taken from White (1997, 1998, 2000) and includes Elaboration, Appraisal, Contextualization, Cause-Effect relations, such as Consequence and Concession, and their textual analogues including Justification and Counter-Justification. The taxonomy was retained in its unchanged form except two modifications, namely the satellite labelled as Balance and the kind of closure referred to as dummy Wrap-up (see chapter 4.5.3). In the case of indeterminacy the alternative interpretation is included in parentheses.

Distinction is also made between satellites of the same relational type offering, however, different specification of the nucleus, referred to e.g. as Elaboration A, Elaboration B, Elaboration C etc. Also, attention is paid to the order of occurrence of each satellite type (Elaboration A1, A2 etc.) and its overall position in the sequence of satellites, abbreviated to S1, S2 etc. The functional relation between dependent sub-satellites and the superordinate satellites is also indicated by numbers, using multi-level numbering (e.g. S1 for a superordinate satellite and S1.1 for the dependent sub-satellite).

Also, apart from the prototypical satellites and sub-satellites dealt with in Iedema et al. (1994) and White (1997, 1998, 2000), the present analysis recognizes multi-nuclear satellites referred to as compound satellites (see chapter 4.5.4). As far as setting the Lead-satellite and satellite-satellite boundary is concerned, the main criteria were the identification of the socially disrupting event and the relation to the nucleus respectively; however, ancillary to

function were also formal criteria, such as cohesion, theme-rheme structure, reported language and paragraph boundary (see 4.5.2 and 4.5.3).

More general information regarding the analysis and coding conventions is introduced in the relevant sections in chapter 4 and more details with examples are specified in Appendix 1B and include the following aspects: typographical conventions, the use of letters, numbers, other special symbols and abbreviations, compound satellites and sub-satellites, ambiguities, and mechanisms of linearization (both kinds of W/wrap-up, concessive/concurring sequences).

## 4. The structure of hard news

This chapter is concerned with different approaches to the description of one of the fundamental criteria used to define hard news, namely its text structure. A few comments will be made on the inverted pyramid and the journalistic training perspective (Fink 1997, Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, Turow 2009), the cognitive approach (van Dijk 1988), the narrative approach (Bell 1991, 1998), and the bottom-up generic approach (van Leeuwen 1987) but, as suggested earlier, the main focus of concern will be the orbital nucleus-satellite structure developed within the framework of the Sydney School (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1997, 1998, 2000, 2008).<sup>9</sup>

### 4.1 The inverted pyramid

The concept of the inverted pyramid has been widely recognized both in linguistic as well as journalistic training literature. Its rise is explained by a number of reasons, such as technical, political and ideological, cultural and economic (Pöttker 2003, White 1998). The structure of the inverted pyramid, or the triangle model, consists of headlines, the lead paragraph and the body of the report. The headlines and lead function as the base of the pyramid and offer the gist of the story, generalizing the *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *why* and *how* of the event; the body specifies the information with an increasing degree of detail and a decreasing degree of importance (Turow 2009, 55; Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 53-54; Bell 1991, 168-169; Fink 1997, 94-95; Fulton 2005, 228-229, 234-236; Dunn 2005, 143; Östman 1999, 91-92; Pöttker 2003, 501-502; Ytreberg 2001, 360; Ljung 2000, Ungerer 2000; van Dijk 1985).

The structure of the inverted pyramid is closely related to the news values discussed in chapter 2.1. It has been characterised by the absence of text to time iconicity,<sup>10</sup> non-chronological presentation reflecting the degree of newsworthiness and the so-called radical editability, i.e. the possibility to re-order parts of the text or cut it from the bottom without threatening its integrity or coherence (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 54; Bell 1991, 172; Fink

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<sup>9</sup> Clayman (1990) and White (2003) adopt a conversation analysis approach to the structure of hard news, not dealt with here.

<sup>10</sup> Martin (1992, 517-523, 589) distinguishes between the chronological, field-structured texts, and non-chronological, genre-structured texts, but admits that the term 'genre-structured' text is misleading since all texts realize both field and genre; the term is used to reflect the fact that schematic or text time is not identical to the real or field time, understood in the Hallidean sense (e.g. Halliday 1978, 143-144; Halliday and Hasan 1985, 12). Similarly, Martin and Rose (2008, 78-81) refer to text time versus field time operating in Martin's (1992) genre-structured and field-structured texts respectively.

1997, 94; Bell 1998, 97; Östman 1999, 91-2; Pöttker 2003, 502; White 1998, 252-263). Another criterion is the absence of the assessment of probabilities and possibilities, motives, intentions and primarily the lack of an element of uncertainty interwoven in the text's entire progression (Branigan 1992, 20; Ytreberg 2001, 359-360). The news story begins with where the expected succession of events is disrupted, so the disruption itself is not arrived at by a series of consecutive temporally or causally linked events and cannot be seen as a possible or uncertain occurrence potentially taking place in the course of events but as something that has been "actualised" or "realised" (White 1998, 252-255).<sup>11</sup>

The factors of text to time non-iconicity and the absence of uncertainty regarding the way a story unfolds raise the question of the generic affiliation of newspaper reports. According to Martin and Rose (2008, 244), due to their temporal organization newspaper stories are found at the periphery of narrative genres and the only property keeping them in the family of story genres is the possibility to retrieve the sequence of events as unfolding through time from the content organized by text-time. The two-fold view of a newspaper story is also raised in White (1998, 257), who says that if greater weight is given to text or discourse time, the newspaper report must be excluded from the narrative genre; on the other hand, its inclusion puts greater emphasis on the possibility of a story line retrieval. The former opinion is maintained, for example, by Ytreberg (2001). Another aspect related to the lack of text to time iconicity pushing a newspaper report to the margin of narrative genres is a frequent absence of closure at the end of the report, the natural closure or climax being often textually located in the beginning, in the headline or lead (White 1998, 257-258).

#### **4.2 The cognitive approach: van Dijk (1988)**

Van Dijk's (1988) approach to the structure of a news story is essentially cognitive. He works with two layers of a news story, so-called thematic macrostructure and schematic superstructure (van Dijk 1988, 30-59). Macrostructure is found at the semantic level and reflects the topics presented in the news story. Macrostructure can be thought of as a summary realized by macropropositions derived from individual propositions by the application of macrorules (van Dijk 1988, 31-33). Macrorules are recursive and are based on the processes leading to the reduction of information, such as deletion, generalization and construction, applied on the basis of the knowledge of the world, scripts or frames (van Dijk 1988, 32, 34).

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<sup>11</sup>The criterion of realization or actualization is not met, for example, in the case of programmatic, pre-planned texts (van Dijk 1988, 5), dealing with future events. Still, even these are likely to display a comparatively high degree of certainty.

The categories of macrostructure include, for example, main event(s), consequences, causes, antecedent events or conditions (van Dijk 1988, 41-43). The presentation of news content is governed by the principles of relevance, recency, top-down presentation of information and the principle of cyclical, instalment-like ordering; according to these principles more relevant and recent information is presented first, and elaborated on cyclically, on a more general to a more specific scale (van Dijk 1988, 41, 43-44, 48).

Each macroproposition is mapped onto one or more categories of the superstructure, which assigns it a specific discourse function (van Dijk 1988, 51). Schematic structure can be understood as syntax of the story and its categories to a degree overlap with those of thematic macrostructure. They include the Summary in the form of Headline and Lead, and the Story itself. The Story includes Episode, consisting of Main Events and Consequences, Background, subsuming Context and History, and finally Comments, including Verbal Reactions and Conclusions, offering Evaluations and Expectations (van Dijk 1988, 49, 53-56). In van Dijk's (1988, 56) view, only the Headline and Main Events are obligatory in a minimal and well-formed newspaper report and some categories may appear recursively, embedded at different levels in the hierarchy. Although some of the categories like the Headline and Lead may be realized by actual stretches of text, the other categories are not: they are arrived at by interpretation, realised by macropropositions and thus cannot be connected directly to individual sentences of the text (van Dijk 1988, 51; White 1998, 99).

According to Ungerer (2000, 178), in an actual analysis the application of the conceptual structure based partially on the cognitive models such as frames or scripts with an identifiable "natural focus, or main event" may prove problematic if the event is approached from a different than the default topic, i.e. the Main Event. In fact, this is what Ungerer (2000, 183-184) suggests has been under way: possibly due to the need to respond to competition with other media and in order to maintain the event newsworthy, newspapers move away from the natural starting point to "make the news event appear 'new' or topical again by extracting and highlighting a 'new' aspect of the story". In contrast, White's (1997, 1998, 2000) approach is not burdened by conceptual structure since it works with categories that are text-based and each category in the generic structure is realized by a concrete span of actual language, not by its mental construction. The selection of topic(s) treated in the nucleus and specified in the body of the text is driven by ideological positioning, derived from social values, and thus free from the conceptual structure of the news event.

### 4.3 The narrative approach: Bell (1991)

In some aspects Bell's (1991, 1998) work draws on van Dijk (1988) but in others it seems fundamentally different. Although Bell's (1991, 252) categories overlap with those of van Dijk (1988), he does not distinguish between the thematic and schematic levels and works only with one set of categories. Bell (1991, 169-172) distinguishes the Headline and Lead, and the Story comprising any number of Episodes, characterised by any number of Events, featuring the categories of Setting, Actors, Action and its Follow-up (Consequences and Reactions), Commentary (Context, Evaluation, Expectations) and Background (Previous Episodes, History).<sup>12</sup> Bell (1991, 162) gets closer to van Dijk (1988) when he pays attention to the process of editing news, comparing it to van Dijk's macrorules for deriving macropropositions. Furthermore, Bell talks about the categories of actors, time and place of the story as "the journalist's mental analysis of what goes on" (Bell 1991, 169). In his view the categories aim to reconstruct an "event structure" from the fragmented information presented in the story (Bell 1998, 66), and may thus involve the same problems with the conceptual structure of the event noted in the case of van Dijk's (1988) macrostructure.

Bell also looks for parallels between his categories and those of the personal narrative developed by Labov (1972). For example, he equates abstract with lead and orientation with the *who*, *what*, *when* and *where* of the news story; evaluation and resolution have no exact parallels but their function can be performed by the lead (Bell 1991, 148-155). Furthermore, he comments on the issue of the order of presentation, saying that "in news, order is everything but chronology is nothing" and information is extracted and assembled in a "newsworthy order" (Bell 1991, 172). He thus concurs with van Dijk (1988) on the basic principles of content organization. Like van Dijk, Bell (1991) is criticized by White (1998, 104) for limiting the function of the lead only to that of the summary of the most important and relevant information. However, by saying that "the function of the lead is not merely to summarize the main action [but to focus]... the story in a particular direction ...[and form] the lens through which the remainder of the story is viewed", he admits that the lead is also "a

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<sup>12</sup> In both van Dijk (1988) and Bell (1991, 1998) instances of reported language are primarily handled as the category of (Verbal) Reaction. Van Dijk (1988, 54-56) considers it a special kind of consequence allowing the journalist to present external opinions and subsumes it under the category of Comments. Bell (1991, 170-171) considers it a Follow-up action subsequent to the Main Event but in his categorization forms of presentation may also fall into the category of Commentary, which includes both the journalist's and news actors' observations. In the orbital nucleus-satellite structure reported language is not assigned a priori any specific role and may participate in any of its sections.



nucleus of evaluation” (Bell 1991, 152). In that aspect Bell (1991) seems to be closer to White (1998) than van Dijk (1988).

#### **4.4 Bottom-up generic approach: van Leeuwen (1987)**

Van Leeuwen (1987) studies the generic structure of newspaper reports, features and editorials on a similar topic, published by three Sydney metropolitan newspapers. In accord with SFL, he views genre as a text which realizes a social purpose (van Leeuwen 1987, 201). In his view, there may be more social purposes performed by news texts, some of them more overt, some of them rather covert: the former group includes the purpose of entertainment or factual, impartial and objective coverage of events; the latter group includes social control, legitimation of social control and ideological commitment (van Leeuwen 1987, 201-203, 209). These purposes are achieved through a number of generic strategies, such as Narration, Description, Exposition, Procedure, and Adhortation, which derive their function from the configurations of linguistic selections from the systems of conjunction, mood, theme, reference, tense, transitivity and projection (van Leeuwen 1987, 201-203).

The identification of linguistic features serves as the basis for the functional interpretation of larger units of discourse (generic strategies) and projection is one of the linguistic options the selection from which may characterize a particular generic stage. The usual explanation for the use of reported language, grounded in the concept of (subjective, expressive, deictic) perspective of the ultimate source, is that it shifts the responsibility for the reported content from the reporting to the reported speaker. Van Leeuwen (1987, 205-206) translates this into a rhetorical perspective and claims that from the point of view of the projected/reported clause, the structure is expository or hortatory, but from the point of view of the projecting/reporting clause, the structure is descriptive, a mere accumulation of what an authority or expert said. Thus reported and reporting elements create a kind of “double structure” in which adhortations or expositions are “masked by ... the overlay of a descriptive ‘report’ structure” (van Leeuwen 1987, 206). In this way the responsibility is shifted not only for the propositional content, but also for the rhetorical strategy and the social purpose it serves. In other words, the double structure “facilitates the downranking of exposition and adhortation, making these just covert enough for the illusion that newspapers only narrate and report, and are not involved in social control” (van Leeuwen 1987, 208). The idea of genre performing a social function, facilitated by its generic structure and generic strategies, makes

van Leeuwen close to White (1997, 1998) in that both concede that ideological positioning may be guised as objectivity and impartiality.<sup>13</sup>

#### **4.5 The generic structure of hard news: White (1998)**

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the structure of the hard news report using the ideas proposed by Iedema et al. (1994) and White (1997, 1998, 2000), which also serve as the basis for the present analysis. First, the orbital structure will be described and explained against the general concept of genre advocated by the Sydney School as well as the social function of hard news. Second, the role and properties of the nucleus and the individual satellite types will be explained in detail.

##### **4.5.1 The orbital structure: nucleus – satellite**

As explained in chapter 2.1, the function of hard news is to draw attention to a significant social, cultural or economic event, in most cases an event that threatens to destabilize the status quo and the established norms and values (White 1997, 1998). This is done in a manner that foregrounds reporting and eschews authorial analysis and interpretation. The objective and impersonal style of reporting is referred to as reporter voice, reflecting the massification of hard news aimed at an audience that is heterogeneous in terms of values and ideological positioning (e.g. Iedema et al. 1994, White 1998). Another crucial element is the orbital generic structure. This chapter will address the concept of staging and the role of the nucleus and satellites.

Genre is conceptualized as “a staged goal-oriented social process” (Martin et al. 1987, cited e.g. in Iedema et al. 1994, 76). The idea of staging suggests a linear progression of functional units. Looking at the typical structure illustrated by Figure 1, the amount of staging is rather limited, including the progression from the Headline(s) and Lead to the Lead Development (Iedema et al. 1994, 98; Iedema 1997, 103).

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<sup>13</sup> A few comments on the linguistic realization and generic strategies in the press reportage can also be found in Biber (1989), who makes a distinction between a genre, based on external situational criteria, and text-type, defined in terms of salient linguistic features, which are subsequently interpreted functionally. For example, the genre of press reportage shows preference for General narrative exposition text type (73%), followed by Learned exposition (25%) and Scientific exposition (2%) (Biber 1989, 21).

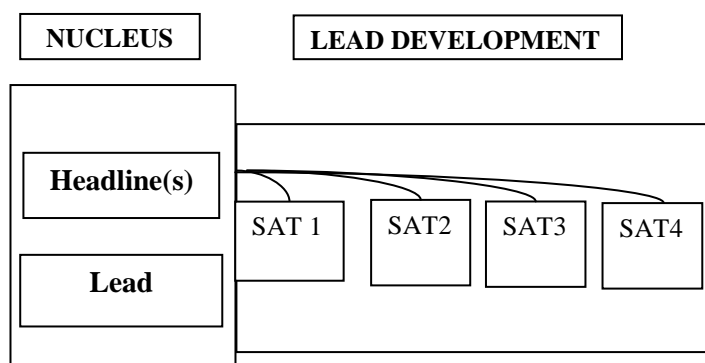


Figure 1: Staged and orbital structure in hard news (after Iedema et al. 1994, 109)

Apart from the Headline, Lead and Lead Development there are not many other traces of staging. The functional/relational perspective is based on the dependency relation (orbital) between elements (particles) – the nucleus and dependent satellites (Pike 1982; Martin 1992, 10, 548-551; Martin and Rose 2008, 24-25). Mapped onto the individual stages, the stages of the Headline and Lead forming the nucleus are superior to the stage of Lead Development formed by dependent satellites. The nucleus consists of the Headline and Lead for the latter often reiterates the content of the former and, more importantly, they are similar rhetorically (White 1997, 111). Satellites do not chain linearly between themselves but return back to the nucleus (e.g. Iedema et al. 1994, 98; White 1997, White 1998, 263-294, 339-345; White 2000, 388-389; White and Thompson 2008, 5-10). The functional relations between the nucleus and satellites are manifold and will be dealt with below. For example, satellites Elaborate, Contextualize, provide Cause-Effect relations (causes, reasons or consequences), and Appraise the information in the nucleus (White 1997, 115; White 1998, 278, 339-340; White 2000; 384-385; White and Thompson 2008, 7). On the other hand, inter-satellite relations are much more infrequent and less central to the functionality of hard news (see chapter 4.5.4).

The fact that satellites link back to the nucleus rather than between themselves is vital for the rhetorical functionality of hard news and has repercussions for its textual properties. The hard news text exhibits radical editability, i.e. the possibility to remove or re-order satellites without substantial negative effects on textuality or loss of content as the socially significant aspects have been already raised in the nucleus (White 1998, 2000). The temporal order of events is dismantled, resulting in text-time to field-time non-iconicity, a seemingly ad hoc order of satellites, fragmented manner of content presentation and a frequent lack of clear resolution or closure (Martin 1992, 516-523; White 1998, 252-263; Iedema et al. 1994, 109-137). The whole structure makes an impression of a piecemeal collection of bits of

information clustering around the nucleus; the absence of formal links between satellites and frequent shifts in topic offer less space for analytical and in-depth treatment, so the links between events are often a result of the interpretative work on the part of the reader (Iedema et al. 1994, 115-120, 187).

The elementary role of the nucleus is the identification of the point of destabilization which disrupts the status quo, or less commonly the point of re-stabilization which draws attention to positive aspects of an event and consolidates the status quo (Iedema et al. 1994, 110-116). According to Iedema et al. (1994, 104, 106), the early identification of the point of significance is necessary since the lack of presumed shared interest and values among large audience requires setting a unifying angle on the story. Angle is defined as the “contentious point chosen for primary emphasis” in the Headline and Lead, foregrounding what or who is considered important (White 1998, 371).<sup>14</sup> Unlike in chronological accounts, the reader does not have to “plow through the entire story, hunting for primary news elements and assessing their relative importance” (Fink 1997, 103). The identification of the angle mitigates diversity in social, political or economic background of the audience and reduces possible differences in the assessment and interpretation of the event and its aspects, asserting more forcefully certain cultural and ideological values.

Because the nucleus extracts what is considered of maximal social impact, either destabilizing or re-stabilizing, it creates a locus of interpersonal prominence (Iedema et al. 1994, 107-108; White 1998, 300-301; White 2000, 391). The nuclear role is not confined to the concentration of interpersonal meaning but since the nucleus provides a summary, it also plays an important role at the ideational level, functioning as an informational pivot (White 1997, 128-129; White 2000, 391-392; White 2008, 9). Due to the orbital organization, the message is recycled and/or commented on with each nucleus-satellite link and by constant reference to the Headline and Lead the nuclear role is extended to the textual level too. The recurrent, recycling pattern is the basis of the rhetorical potential of the news story. The ideas presented in the nucleus are kept in focus by being restated, elaborated upon, contextualized, evaluated, explained or justified. The lack of interpretation and argumentation within the body of the text is compensated for by the repetition of the selected angle. By the process of selection and constant repetition certain values or viewpoints are foregrounded and gradually naturalized (White 2000, 378). The rhetorical potential of the news story is a result of the interplay of the orbital organization and the recurrent cyclical pattern, referred to as the

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<sup>14</sup> Even though both the terms angle and voice (point of view) are grounded ideologically, only the former refers to the preferred opinion and is confined to appear in a specific section of the generic structure - the nucleus. See also the discussion of voice (point of view) in chapter 2.3 and the concept of the Main Event in 4.2.

periodic pattern, and explained further in chapter 4.5.7 (Martin 1992, White 1998, Martin and Rose 2008). One of the aspects the present paper addresses is whether and how reported language exploits the combination of the orbital and periodic arrangement to achieve the intended rhetorical purpose.

The rhetorical functionality is also enhanced by the lack of closure providing final resolution or evaluation of the event (Iedema et al. 1994, 105; White 1998). When a story finishes in mid-air, it keeps open the interpretation of its significance in a broader social context (Bell 1991, 153-154). The lack of conclusion and inter-satellite relations maintain the impression of mere reporting or chronicling devoid of interpretation and analysis on the part of the reporter (but see chapters 4.5.4 and 4.5.6). It is precisely this property, together with reporter voice, which responds to the massification of hard news, heterogeneity of the audience and the need to allow space for negotiation, alternative ideological positioning and empathy with different voices.

#### **4.5.2 The nucleus**

The function of the Headline and Lead seen vis-à-vis the function of hard news underlies the assignment of nuclearity. In other words, the nucleus “consummates the telos of the genre” (Martin and Rose 2008, 233). The Headline and Lead convey the gist of the news and thus function as the ideational nucleus; they launch the reader into the event directly and abruptly without any prior introduction or background, functioning as the textual nucleus; and since the beginning is the point of crisis and social impact, it is also the interpersonal nucleus (Bell 1991, 185; Iedema et al. 1994, 112; White 1997, 112-114). White (1997, 104-106) categorizes the main sources of disequilibrium as “aberrant damage”, caused by natural forces, human incompetence and carelessness, outbreaks of disease or violence, or negative effects of political and economic activities; “power relations” allude to shifts in power in various fields of human activity, be it politics, business or military; “normative breach” refers to events which represent a deviation from what is established as moral or customary, for example activities involving crime, negligence or indifference, or any deviation from a custom or habit without a necessary moral implication.

The identification of the disruption (or less frequently re-stabilisation) of the status quo can be done either in the form of the selective synopsis, by way of abstraction or the combination of both (van Dijk 1988, 53; Bell 1991, 183; Iedema et al. 1994, 112; White 1998, 268-275). The nucleus in the form of selective synopsis focuses on one or more counter-

expectational events and although it may be limited only to the key elements, it retains the same level of specificity as the body of the story; on the other hand, the nucleus in the form of abstract describes the event(s) in more general terms, enabling their categorization and interpretation against some system of values and experience (White 1998, 269-271).

Since forms of presentation and the relevant coding system are dealt with in later sections (5.5.1-5.5.3 and Appendix 1A), the description of forms of presentation in the Headlines/Leads used for exemplification has been removed. Nevertheless, where relevant a few general comments on the role of reported language in the nucleus will be made. Complete analysis can be found in Appendices 2A-D. The parentheses specify the Appendix and the location of the text in it – the letter abbreviates the newspaper and the number refers to the order of the text. For instance, example 1 below can be found in Appendix 2B as the eighth text, excerpted from The Guardian (G8).

The nucleus in example 1 comprises three Headlines which, together with the Lead, rely on both abstraction and selective synopsis (see e.g. Schneider 2000 for multi-decked headlines).

#### Example 1

##### **Headline**

**All 152 aboard killed as aircraft crashes into hill** in PAKISTAN'S WORST AIR DISASTER

##### **Headline**

*Poor weather may have driven plane off-course*

##### **Headline**

Victims' remains to be identified by DNA testing

##### **Lead**

A queue of ambulances brought a stream of bodies to Islamabad's main hospital yesterday, after **THE WORST AIR CRASH IN PAKISTAN'S HISTORY** **claimed the lives of all 152 of an aircraft's passengers and crew.** (App. 2B, G8)

The nucleus, construed as a material happening in an event story, presents the point of disruption of the aberrant damage type, namely a plane accident. The accident and its victims (in bold), the possible influence of poor weather (in italics), DNA testing (underlined) and the transport of bodies to the hospital (no marking) show a similar level of specification with the body of the text, not reproduced here due to the reasons of space (see Appendix 2B, G8 for

the whole text). The first Headline and the Lead also partially rely on a summarizing strategy typical of abstract: they refer to the accident in the form of two noun phrases – *Pakistan's worst air disaster* and *the worst air crash in Pakistan's history* (in capitals). These are abstractions serving to categorize and label the event; the categorization is achieved not only by the nouns *air disaster/crash* but also by the evaluative premodification (*worst*) and postmodification (*in Pakistan's history*) showing the extent of the damage.

In comparison to the synoptic nucleus, the nucleus in the form of abstract involves much greater generalization in the way events are conceptualized; consequently, concrete events are given more general labels representing culturally significant events (White 1998, 269-271). The social significance of events is reflected in the vocabulary system of a language, as these will “acquire a name, a fixed entry in the language's system of *valeur*” (Barthes 1977, 101 cited in White 1998, 273). Similarly, Downing (2000, 371), discussing nominalizations, points out that they are “ready-made items ... presupposed from the outset” reminiscent of “jargonistic or ritual” use. Nominalised forms construe entities as acknowledged, fact-like, more objective, abstract, permanent or state-like, backgrounded, and thus less open to negotiation (Downing 2000, 356-359, 370; Iedema 1997, 114). Generalizing reference is in line with the interpersonal role of the nucleus since the selected event is simultaneously interpreted and classified according to its social impact (*air crash/disaster*). Also, generalization makes a newspaper report consonant with other real world events, and thus easier to comprehend. It supplies the unifying angle on the event and highlights its newsworthiness, significance and the values it represents. At the same time, the ease of comprehension and perhaps presentation comes at the expense of objectivity as the choice of a label affects the way the event is received by the reader and may reflect common discursive practices (Fairclough 1992). It is not, however, to suggest that synoptic nuclei are more objective since the process of selection also involves weighing social importance of the individual elements (White 2000).

The nucleus in Example 2 is also a combination of synopsis and abstract (capitalized) but has been excerpted from an issues report, i.e. hard news in which the point of disruption is a verbal event, construed as a projected meta-phenomenon (e.g. White 1997; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> As nuclei can be combinations of synopsis and abstract, they also often combine material and verbal events, resulting in hybrid reports, mixtures of issues reports and event stories (White 1998, 337). The events are portrayed monoglossically as undisputable facts as well as heteroglossically, i.e. not universally valid but pertaining only to a particular voice and his understanding of the event, see e.g. App. 2A, DT18.

## Example 2

### Headline

PAKISTAN FURY over *Cameron terror charge*

### Headline

High commissioner says *remarks* have damaged prospects of regional peace

### Lead

A FURIOUS DIPLOMATIC ROW erupted between *London* and Islamabad last night after *David Cameron accused elements of the Pakistani state of promoting the export of terrorism.*

(App. 2B, G1)

The nucleus points to an event which represents a breach of moral or social norms (*an accusation of promoting the export of terrorism*) and its consequences (*diplomatic row, claim of damaged prospects of peace*). The speech events related to David Cameron are in italics and speech/thought events related to Pakistan are underlined. The phrases in capitals – *Pakistan fury* and *furious diplomatic row* – classify and evaluate the issue in the same manner as the noun phrases in example 1, i.e. by means of nominal heads and adjectival modification. The classificatory function of these nouns corresponds to the formal categorisation of the reporting forms on the speech and thought scale. Both nouns – *fury* and *row* – are minimal forms of thought and speech reports, namely internal narration and narrator's representation of voice (Semino et al. 1997, Semino and Short 2004). The remaining non-direct<sup>16</sup> forms of reported language, explained more thoroughly in chapter 5.5.2, produced by the high commissioner (*High commissioner says remarks have...*, indirect speech) and David Cameron's accusation (*David Cameron accused elements ...*, narrator's representation of speech act with topic) report the content of the verbal events more fully and thus lose some of their classificatory potential. The noun phrase *terror charge* in the first Headline reports the speech act value and partially the content and seems to be in between synopsis and abstract, showing that abstraction is necessarily a matter of gradient. As discussed in chapter 5, scalarity is a crucial property of forms of presentation as well.

The forms of presentation (*charge, says, remarks, accused*) in example 2 report propositions, verbal acts “that can be argued about – something that can be affirmed, denied, and also doubted, contradicted, insisted on, accepted with reservation, qualified, tempered [or] regretted” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 110). Propositions often involve accusations,

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<sup>16</sup> The label *non-direct report* is used as a cover term to refer to any form of presentation that is not fully direct, i.e. to all forms to the exclusion of free direct and direct reports.



criticism, charges, allegations, approval or disapproval and consequently need to be grounded in the subjectivity of projection in order to keep the impersonal tone of the report and recognize possible existence of other voices and positions (White 1998, 332-335). Let us recall that apart from bringing a voice into the text and restricting the validity of the content to the perspective of the reported speaker, forms of reported language that have a potential to summarize (*row*) respond to the heterogeneity of possible interpretations by establishing one angle on the event whilst suppressing others.

On the contrary, proposals, such as offers or demands, cannot be affirmed or contradicted and are often directed at a change in the extra-linguistic reality (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 100-111). Example 3 is a synoptic nucleus illustrating a proposal, an appeal to a jury not to be guided by emotions during the decision-making process.

#### Example 3

##### **Headline**

No emotion, judge directs Lawrence jury

##### **Lead**

Jurors in the trial of two men accused of the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence were warned yesterday not to let emotion influence their deliberations. (App. 2D, T39)

Issues reports whose nucleus is based on proposals give advice, express demands, offers and suggestions done with a certain degree of expectation of compliance or acceptance (White 1998, 335). This also calls for an overtly heteroglossic backdrop grounded in some form of presentation (... *judge directs jury*; ... *were warned yesterday*...) as the reporter himself cannot afford to address either the reader or a news actor.

The role of the Headline and Lead finds its reflection in the language resources.<sup>17</sup> The nucleus, being the peak of interpersonal prominence, is a frequent source of intensificatory and evaluative lexical items (e.g. van Dijk 1988, 81-82; White 1997, 108-110; Iedema 1997, 106-108; White 1998, 275-277, 338). Intensification is predominantly based on heightened negative impact, metaphor and measure, including comparison, size, force, severity etc. (Iedema et al. 1994, 114-115; White 1997, 108-109; White 1998, 276). Going back to the

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<sup>17</sup> Lead is characterised by considerable sentence complexity, such as embedding, non-finite verb forms, nominalizations and heavy modification (van Dijk 1988, 77-81; Bell 1991, 176, 181-183). On the contrary, Headlines are known for their telegraphic style (Bell 1991, 185; Iedema et al. 1994, 110; Reah 1998, 19-23). See also e.g. Downing (2000), who examines the role of nominalizations in the theme-rheme structure in the Headline and Lead.

examples above, lexical component combined with force is present in *crash, disaster, fury, furious row, racist murder*; metaphorical expressions include *the row erupted, export of terrorism* or *cast shadow*, and finally, measure is expressed by *worst, a stream of bodies, tens of thousands of people*. The heavy concentration of unattributed intensive items is referred to as “the syndrome of intensification” and due to the heightened involvement and emotional charge these items to an extent represent a departure from the impersonal style of hard news (White 1997, 108; White 1998, 304-305). In issues reports the reporting signal itself may represent the source of disruption, realized by the lexis with evaluative meanings, such as *fury, row, accuse, warn* (White 1997, 109-110, 114-115; White 1998, 338; Bednarek 2009, 114-117). Such lexical items boost the newsworthiness and negativity of the message.

Regarding the process of identification and boundary setting off the Headline and Lead, the Headlines presented no difficulties. In the majority of cases the scope of the Lead spanned over the first paragraph following the Headline(s), and in a few cases the second paragraph was also included (e.g. G3, G13, G40 in App. 2B; I8 in App. 2C). The scope was determined mainly on functional grounds, reflecting the generic role of the nucleus. The transition between the Lead and the body of the text, i.e. the first satellite, was signalled by a change in topic featuring a drop in social significance of the described event(s), often accompanied by a change in temporal or geographical specification. Or, typically, the first satellite commenced Elaboration on the nucleus, and the transition was signalled by repetition. The topic was resumed as if anew without any signals of continuation and the information from the Lead was not reflected in and built upon in the satellite: the satellite exhibited similar theme-rheme structure and no or minimal formal (cohesive) links with the Lead. On the other hand, a two-paragraph Lead was characterised by retaining the level of social significance, possibly supported by formal links between the paragraphs.<sup>18</sup>

The above examples have shown the function and types (abstract, synopsis, proposition, proposal) of the hard news nucleus in two different types of news reports (event story, issues report). The role of the nucleus as the ideational, textual and interpersonal peak of prominence finds clear linguistic reflexes in the choices made in the lexico-grammatical system, including projection. The examples illustrated only non-direct forms of presentation since these are most typical of the nucleus; various direct forms are discussed in 6.2 and 6.3. Now attention will be paid to the body of the text, namely the inventory of satellites, their role and properties.

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<sup>18</sup> There were two instances of ambiguous Lead-satellite boundary; the segments whose nuclear status was questionable were excluded from interpretation, see 4.5.5.

### 4.5.3 Satellites

The aim of this chapter is to present an overview of the inventory of satellite types, their linguistic properties and the mechanism of setting satellite boundary. The taxonomy of satellite types, based on their relation to the nucleus, includes Elaboration, Appraisal, Contextualization, Cause and Effect: Consequence, Cause and Effect: Concession, Cause and Effect: Justification, Cause and Effect: Counter-Justification, Balance and Wrap-up (White 1997, 1998, 2000). A partial description of the notational system concerning the analysis of the generic structure was given in chapter 3.3 but since it is completed gradually in the relevant sections in the present chapter and Appendix 1B, and focus is placed merely on the functional nucleus-satellite relations, the description of the examples given for illustration will be simplified and confined to the particular relation discussed. Except the kind and order of the specification of the nucleus (e.g. Contextualization B1), the examples will also indicate paragraph division (#) and the sequence of the satellite in the generic structure (satellite 1 etc. abbreviated to S1 etc.). Also, as in 4.5.2 dealing with the nucleus, all the tags pertaining to the analysis of reported language have been removed. Complete analysis can be found in Appendices 2A-2D, the number of the text is given in parentheses.

As noted by White (1997, 131), the taxonomy of relations is slightly inspired by the Rhetorical Structure Theory (e.g. Mann and Thompson 1988). The core concern of RST is a hierarchical structure between portions of text and functional relations between them (Mann and Thompson 1988, 243). In RST there is a distinction between subject matter relations, e.g. Elaboration, Circumstance, or Purpose, and presentation relations, e.g. Evidence, Justify, or Motivation. While the former are described as semantic in nature and aim at the reader's recognition of the relation, the latter are more pragmatic, aiming at increasing the reader's inclination towards accepting or complying with the desired effect (Mann and Thompson 1988, 256-257). Despite the idea of dependency between portions of text and an overlap in the taxonomy of relations, the theoretical basis of RST and the generic approach set the two frameworks fundamentally apart.<sup>19</sup> The discussion will proceed with the description of the individual satellite types, drawing on White (1997, 1998, 2000).

The satellite types distinguished in White (1997, 115), White (1998, 278, 339-340) and White (2000, 384) are the following:

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<sup>19</sup> For a comparison of RST with register and genre approaches, see e.g. Gruber and Muntigl (2005).

**Elaboration:** repeats, restates in other words, provides more detail or exemplifies the information in the nucleus

**Appraisal:** evaluates the nucleus in affective, aesthetic and moral terms<sup>20</sup>

**Contextualization:** provides spatial-temporal and social context, specifies events which precede, follow or take place simultaneously with the event in the nucleus or are presented for comparison

**Cause and Effect: Concession:** provides information that runs contrary to or frustrates the conclusions and expectations following from the nucleus

**Cause and Effect: Consequence:** explains the events in the nucleus in causal terms and specifies the reasons, causes, purpose and consequences

**Cause and Effect: Justification:** a textual analogue to Consequence providing evidence or reasoning for a particular proposition or proposal in the nucleus

**Cause and Effect: Counter-Justification:** also a text-internal causal relation challenging or undermining the assertions made in the nucleus

The following examples illustrate the relations described above. Satellites irrelevant to the discussion have been omitted so the samples do not represent a continuous piece of text; the relative sequence of the satellites has been retained. Since Elaboration is the most frequent satellite, it will be dealt with first.

#### Example 4

##### Headline

‘Thousands of civil servants have nothing to do - but it's too expensive to fire them’

##### Lead

Thousands of civil servants in Whitehall are “treading water” with nothing to do because it is too expensive to make them redundant, a minister claimed yesterday.

##### #S4/Elaboration A2

Mr Maude told The Times that “thousands of civil servants” were without a job in most Whitehall departments but still being paid. Earlier he told the Commons Public

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<sup>20</sup> In this sense Appraisal (capitalised) is understood as an element or particle of the orbital generic structure with a specific rhetorical function and must be distinguished from other, non-generic, technical or non-technical uses of the term. In later sections reference will be made to different systems of appraisal (no capitalization) covering various lexico-grammatical means of evaluation; this kind of evaluation may be realized prosodically and belongs to the interpersonal plane of language (White 1998, Martin 1992, Martin and White 2005, Bednarek 2006, Lemke 1998). Even though Appraisal will often draw on the resources from the system of appraisal, the two concepts are not identical and instances of evaluation/appraisal may occur in any section of the text irrespective of its generic function.

Administration Committee: “They are treading water and the reason for that is the current scheme makes it prohibitively expensive to go through the process of making them redundant. That does not seem to me to be any way to treat people.” (App. 2D, T4)

In example 4 the point of disruption raised in the nucleus is the uneconomical redundancy policy in Whitehall departments. Elaboration A2 (satellite 4) repeats the claim in the nucleus, retaining the key phrases (underlined), which highlight the extent of the problem, the lack of work and expensive redundancy terms. The emphasis is achieved by means of repetition as well as by direct quotations. In example 5, the nucleus reports on a teenager’s plan to sail around the world, which was given legal approval despite the previous objections from social workers.

#### Example 5

##### **Headline**

Dutch girl wins fight to sail around the world

##### **Lead**

A 14-YEAR-OLD Dutch girl has been given legal permission to set sail on a record-breaking solo voyage around the world after judges dismissed objections from social workers.

##### **S1/Contextualization A1 (previous supervision order)**

Laura Dekker had been placed under the supervision of child protection authorities last year after announcing her plan, with parental support, to become the world's youngest solo sailor.

##### **#S2/Elaboration A1 (objections from social workers)**

Social workers objected that the two-year voyage in her 26ft sailing boat Guppy, would pass through some of the world's most dangerous waters and would damage her “emotional well being”.

##### **#S3/Elaboration B1 (the judge’s permission)**

But yesterday Judge Suzanne Kuypers, sitting in the town of Middelburg, said the trip could go ahead. “The supervision of the child is lifted with immediate effect,” she said. “It is the responsibility of the parents to let the child go on the yacht trip or not.” Since last year's supervision order, Miss Dekker has trained in first aid, registered with a distance education college to continue her schooling at sea, gained solo sailing experience and learnt sleep management techniques.

##### **#S4/Appraisal A1 (the girl’s affective response)**

She is expected to sail within a fortnight to set the new solo record before she turns 17 on Sept 20, 2012. “I am excited, this time I do have some hope, Miss Dekker wrote on her blog.

**#S6/Contextualization B1 (comparison with similar attempts by other teenagers)**

She will be challenging the record in May set by Jessica Watson, an Australian, who, aged 16, became the youngest person to sail around the world non-stop, solo and unassisted. In June, a US teenager on a similar record attempt had to be rescued in the Indian Ocean.

(App. 2A, DT22)

In example 5 Elaboration A1 gives more details and specifies what the social workers’ objections were in particular (*danger, damage to emotional well-being*) whereas Elaboration B1 rephrases in other words (... *said the trip could go ahead...*) the speech act summarized as permission in the Lead. Elaboration B1 also contains additional information about the girl’s preparation for the voyage which is not mentioned in the nucleus but which does not alter the satellite’s overall relation to the nucleus and its function in the generic structure. Possible thematic digressions result in satellite tokens diverging from the ideal satellite type. Appraisal A1 evaluates the decision in affective terms by expressing the girl’s emotional reaction (*excitement, hope*). Contextualization A1 supplies legal background – the girl being under the supervision of child protection authorities – against which the newly issued permission is interpreted. Contextualization B1 refers to similar attempts by other teenagers, serving for comparison.

Example 6 deals with an environmental disaster caused by an accident in a Hungarian chemical factory.

Example 6

**Headline**

Hungary battles to stop toxic sludge from reaching the river Danube

**Lead**

HUNGARY YESTERDAY opened a criminal investigation into an escape of deadly toxic sludge from an industrial plant, amid fears that it could grow into a regional environmental disaster.

**#S6/Cause and effect: Concession A1 (lack of indication of the disaster)**

The Hungarian firm that runs the alumina plant insists that safety tests gave no indication of the impending disaster.

**#S8/Appraisal A1 (complaints about the clean-up operation being chaotic, slow, disgraceful)**

The disaster presents Mr Orban's centre-right government with its first major challenge since taking office in April, and one volunteer worker complained yesterday that the clean-up operation was “chaos”.

#“I think it’s a disgrace,” he said, while asking not to be named. “Things are going so slowly. The flood was on Monday and now on Wednesday we're still waiting for orders.”

**#S10/Contextualization A1 (subsequent event of building a temporary bridge)**

In Kolontar a team of military engineers built a pontoon bridge across a toxic stream yesterday so residents could briefly return to their homes and retrieve some belongings. Many villagers said they were unlikely to return home.

**#S11/Contextualization B1 (background information about the substance)**

Red sludge is a by-product of the refining of bauxite into alumina, the basic material for manufacturing aluminium. It contains heavy metals and is toxic if ingested. Treated sludge is often stored in ponds where the water eventually evaporates, leaving behind a dried red clay-like soil. (App. 2C, I17)

Compared to Appraisal A1 in example 5, Appraisal A1 in 6 does not specify the speaker’s emotional reaction to the problem but evaluates negatively the clean-up operation itself, referring to it as being *chaotic*, *disgraceful* and *slow*. In both cases the Appraisal takes the form of a direct quote, the most common and natural option in hard news. In contrast to Contextualizations A1 and B1 in 5 providing events prior to the one in the nucleus, in 6 Contextualization A1 specifies the event that happened subsequently to the accident (building the bridge and the villagers’ brief return). Contextualization B1 provides background information about the production and storage of the escaped substance, its chemical properties and effect on human health, which is important for the lay public to know to make sense of the accident and appreciate fully the significance of the disaster. Example 6 also illustrates a satellite which is one of the least frequent ones, namely Concession. Considering the kind of accident and its extent, it may be expected that it did not occur suddenly and without warning signs, an expectation which is denied or frustrated in Concession A1 by the alleged absence of *the indication of the impending disaster*.

The nucleus in example 7 points to racist and humiliating behaviour of students towards the school staff. It exemplifies two different kinds of Cause and Effect: Consequence.

## Example 7

### Headline

White South African students humiliated black staff

### Lead

FOUR white South African students humiliated their black cleaners by forcing them to play rugby and drinking games and eat a stew in which they pretended to urinate, a court heard yesterday.

### S1/Cause and effect: Consequence A1 (protests as purpose)

The men filmed a mock initiation in 2007 in protest at plans to introduce black students to their previously all-white, all-male digs in the Afrikaner heartland of Bloemfontein, in the Free State.

### #S2/Cause and effect: Consequence B1 (tensions and soul searching as consequences)

When the images were posted on the Internet a year later, they sent simmering racial tensions to boiling point and led to protests at the University of the Free State and in the townships where the workers lived.

#The posting also generated soul searching about how far attitudes had changed since apartheid was dismantled in the 1990s. (App. 2A, DT18)

Consequence A1 specifies the purpose of their behaviour, *a protest* at the plan to introduce mixed race dormitories. Consequence B1 specifies a direct outcome of their behaviour – *racial tensions, protests and soul searching*. In comparison to a subsequent event in Contextualization, the connection between events in the nucleus and Consequence is more direct, based on causality rather than mere sequence: whereas in example 7 the tensions and soul searching can be viewed as a direct result of the students' behaviour, building a bridge in example 6 does not directly follow from the chemical accident itself, compared to e.g. material damage or loss of life.

Example 8 deals with patricide, a serious transgression of moral code, and is used to illustrate textual analogues to ideational Cause-Effect relations, namely Justification and Counter-Justification.

## Example 8

### Headline

<N-q>Law student 'murdered his controlling father and buried his body in concrete'

### Lead



A student murdered his controlling father and buried him under four layers of concrete in the garden of the family home, a court was told yesterday.

#After disposing of the body, Mark Alexander, 22, kept up the pretence that his father was still alive for several months, sending Christmas cards in his name to the neighbours, it was alleged.

**#S2/Cause and effect: Justification A1 (motives for murder justify the accusation)**

The prosecution alleged that after the killing, Mr Alexander, a former Rugby School scholar and French and law student at King's College London, was free to “lead the life he wanted to lead ... but which his father would never have permitted”.

**#S7/Cause and effect: Justification B1 (evidence justifies the accusation)**

The court was also told that on November 19 last year the son had taken delivery of industrial-strength concrete at the family home.

**#S9/Cause and effect: Counter-Justification A1 (denial of the accusation)**

Mr Alexander denies murder and two offences of perverting the course of justice between August 1 last year and February 10, 2010. He also denies disposing of a body with intent to prevent an inquest. The trial is expected to last six weeks. (App. 2D, T12)

The nucleus refers to an accusation of murder and subsequent attempts to conceal the crime. Justification A1 is expressly attributed to the prosecution, the party behind the accusation, and provides the son's motives for murder (freedom from the father's strict upbringing), giving rhetorical support to why the accusation was made, why it is justified and to be trusted. Justification B1 supports the accusation by alluding to possible material evidence for the crime (delivery of concrete). Both the nucleus and the satellites are verbal events and the whole argumentation structure, the claim and the rhetorical support, is attributed. Moreover, the verbal events in the nucleus and Justification must be attributable or expressly attributed to one or more voices representing one side of the argument (e.g. the prosecution in example 8). On the other hand, Counter-Justification A1 is attributed to the accused, who expressly denies having committed the murder and the attempt to conceal it (... *denies murder and two offences...*).

Except the satellite types described above the present framework works with relations not discussed in Iedema et al. (1994) or White (1997, 1998, 2000), namely Balance and Wrap-up. The function of Balance is to explain why a certain piece of information was not provided or why a particular news actor's voice is not presented in the story.

## Example 9

### Headline

NHS trust chief cost £2,500 a day

### Lead

Health workers' unions expressed anger yesterday after it emerged that a temporary chief executive [Derek Smith] had cost a struggling hospital trust more than £2,500 a day, plus almost £20,000 in expenses.

#...

### #S5/Balance A1

Smith was not available for comment. (App. 2B, G16)

Balance reflects the expectation or requirement of a complete, objective and balanced report and clarifies why it has not been complied with. It may refer to the impossibility to contact the person or their refusal to express their stance on the issue (*...was not available for comment* in example 9). And since the objective of fair and balanced reporting has not been fulfilled, the presence of Balance in fact equals an open admission of failure in this respect and may be regarded as a kind of apology (or excuse) on the part of the journalist. Due to its very low frequency the question arises of the possibility to consider Balance a sub-type of a more frequent and established satellite type, presumably Contextualization; this would have the advantage of cleaning out the taxonomy of satellite types which are scarce and whose functional distinction is thus more difficult to determine. On the other hand, the reasons for or an explanation of why a comment has not materialized cannot be automatically and unequivocally considered comparable to a comment that has taken place, serving as Contextualization, Appraisal etc. For this reason, the functional distinction of Balance was retained.

As explained in 4.1 and 4.5.1, one of the distinctive features of the orbital structure is radical editability, characterized among other aspects by the lack of closure. Nevertheless, some satellites, although still in some relation to the nucleus, dispose of the potential to provide closure by means of specifying the natural end point, evaluation or interpretation of the event in the nucleus (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1997, 1998). This wrap-up-cum-satellite is dealt with briefly in 4.5.6 and examples are given in the relevant sections in chapter 6, showing different satellite types acting as resolution or evaluation (also e.g. Urbanová 2012c). However, it is possible to come across segments whose relevance to the rhetorical functionality of hard news is in that they (unlike the wrap-up just described) expressly state an

absence of closure in the extra-linguistic reality and thus give an explanation of why a satisfactory equilibrium-restoring resolution to the aberrant issue was not provided. These satellites work as ‘dummy’ Wrap-ups, standing instead of wrap-ups(-cum-satellite) ‘proper’. Dummy Wrap-ups do not Appraise, Elaborate or Contextualize the nucleus in the same sense as wrap-ups-cum-satellite do but since their main function is to conclude a story in a particular way, albeit by indicating the absence of conclusion, they have been referred to as Wrap-ups. The difference between the dummy Wrap-up and the wrap-up proper is also indicated formally by capitalizing the initial letter of the former, analogously to the main function of Elaborations, Contextualizations etc.

#### Example 10

##### **Headline**

Body armour boss ‘looted £126m from firm’

##### **Headline**

Lavish lifestyle included hiring pop stars for daughter’s party and a \$100,000 belt

##### **Lead**

THE former boss of the world's biggest maker of body armour is accused of looting his company to finance a lavish lifestyle that included hiring the rock band Aerosmith and the rapper 50 Cent to perform at a party for his daughter.

##### **#S12/Wrap-up**

The case continues. (App. 2A, DT24)

As discussed in 6.1, the frequency of occurrence of Wrap-ups is very low but their distinct function seems to be supported by their repetitive wording (e.g. *The case/trial/inquiry continues/has been adjourned.*) and in contrast to satellites whose potential to provide closure may not be taken advantage of due to their non-final position, Wrap-ups are always located finally.<sup>21</sup> They are largely limited to crime or investigation news reporting on a court trial or inquiry, the procedure of which is highly institutionalized and readers’ expectations as to the kind of outcome, i.e. the verdict, may be much higher. Also, they may signal that the story is a kind of “continuing news” (Tuchman 1978, 56-58) and updated stories are to follow.

Since the rhetorical/generic function of a satellite is essentially relational, reflecting also the content and phrasing of the nucleus, it is more difficult to define satellite types on the

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<sup>21</sup> Sometimes phrases with potentially the same Wrap-up function appear attached to (and overridden by the function of) a different satellite (e.g. example 8 above - *The trial is expected to last six weeks*) but these were not taken into account, although they may serve as additional supporting examples.

basis of their linguistic features except a few general aspects which do not necessarily need to be present or may not be exclusive to one satellite type. For instance, as shown in examples 4 and 5, Elaboration satellites can be characterised by their similarity to the nucleus at the textual level, including the choices made in the theme-rheme and new-given structure (*thousands of civil servants/they – have nothing to do/are treading water/were without a job* in example 4), and at the experiential level, including participants, processes and circumstances (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004); there may be a substantial amount of lexical cohesion based on repetition (see e.g. Hoey 1991) and overlap in forms of presentation including the relation between them (see section 6.5). On the other hand, the lack of overlap in the following aspects may be indicative of Contextualization: temporal reference (*September* versus *June, May, last year* in example 5 Contextualization B1; past to present in example 6 Contextualization B1), participants (*Laura Dekker* versus *Jessica Watson, a US teenager* in example 5 Contextualization B1; e.g. *toxic sludge, Hungary* versus *pontoon bridge, belongings* in example 6 Contextualization A1), processes (*battling, opening, growing* versus *building, returning, retrieving* in example 6 Contextualization A1) and circumstances (*industrial plant* versus *home* in example 6 Contextualization A1); the difference in the temporal frame may be indicated by tenses, temporal adverbials or conjunctions.

Conjunctive, prepositional and lexical items may also help to signal Consequence, especially those expressing cause, result, reason, consequence (*...sent simmering tensions, ...led to protests, ...generated soul searching* example 7 Consequence B1) or purpose (*...in protest* example 7 Consequence A1). Repetition (*Mr Alexander, murder, body, dispose* in example 8) may be to an extent important also for Counter-Justification A1, in which case it is often accompanied by grammatical or lexical negation (*deny*). The presence of specific and to an extent formulaic expressions characterises Balance (*refused to/was not available for comment*) and Wrap-up (*trial/inquiry lasts/continues*). Appraisal features the presence of (inherently) evaluative lexical items in general (*chaos, disgrace* in example 6), including e.g. speech act verbs or nouns (*complain* in example 6), or forms of presentation typically associated with expressing a certain kind of evaluative meaning (e.g. items expressing states of mind or attitude may correlate with internal narration expressing affective evaluation – *excited, hope* in example 5). The satellites of Concession and Justification are more difficult to characterise, possibly due to their considerable reliance on extra-linguistic knowledge.

Now attention will be paid to the major linguistic reflexes which follow from the orbital structure and radical editability and which were applied to set nucleus-satellite and satellite-satellite boundary. One of the most obvious consequences of the predominance of

nucleus-satellite relations over satellite-satellite relations and frequent functional switches between satellites is very little linear theme-rheme progression, broken off at satellite boundaries. Regarding the information flow and the given-new structure, satellite boundaries are characterised by disregard for the informational organization of the preceding text and by repeated presentation of what has been already stated as new (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Iedema et al. 1994, 125, 128-130). This supports the idea that repetition is one of the main rhetorical devices of the hard news text.

Another consequence of the orbital structure can be found in the domain of cohesion. Inspired by Hoey (1991), White (1998, 288-294) shows high density of lexical links between the nucleus and satellites. On the other hand, the number of cohesive ties between satellites is much lower, and there is a predominance of lexical over grammatical means (Iedema et al. 1994, 124-126; see also Šaldová 2002). Grammatical links are established mainly within satellites and are indicative of satellite/functional unity (*also* in Consequence B1 in example 7; *also* and *Mr Alexander-he* in Counter-Justification A1 in example 8). Other consequences accompanying frequent thematic and functional changes are shifts in temporal frames and kinds of processes, participants and circumstances (Iedema et al. 1994, 121-123; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

The hard news text is characterised by its distinctive paragraphing. According to Pípalová (2008, 163-173), newspaper discourse shows a propensity for “eye” paragraphs with markedly low degree of variability and, in comparison to other registers, of underaverage length. Often, paragraphs with direct speech show a tendency to split into two (or more) paragraphs, wherein a notional supra-paragraph corresponds to two (or more) graphic paragraphs (Pípalová 2008, 206; see e.g. Appraisal A1 in example 6). Although the present study does not rely on any systematic research, a cursory examination of the corpus suggests that in the majority of cases a satellite boundary coincides with a paragraph boundary, or a group of two or three paragraphs (see e.g. Consequence B1 in example 7). This seems to tally with radical editability and frequent shifts in topic.

A satellite boundary can also be signalled by the identity of the source of attribution. Typically, a sequence of forms of presentation by the same source performs or contributes to the same function in the generic structure (example 5 Elaboration B1, example 6 Appraisal A1, example 8 Counter-Justification A1). On the other hand, a switch in speakers may (Elaboration A1-Elaboration B1-Appraisal A1 in example 5) but does not have to (e.g. App. 2C, I6 S8) indicate a satellite boundary. Sometimes, a non-direct form of presentation plays a prospective role, anticipating, labelling and/or summarizing the content of the form(s) of

presentation that follow, and thus simultaneously performs a functionally integrative role (example 5 Elaboration B, example 6 Appraisal). Tadros (1994, 74-76) lists reporting as one of the means of prediction in texts; Francis (1994) talks about advanced labelling, an important sub-set of which is a metalinguistic comment, including illocutionary nouns, language activity nouns or mental process nouns, and these may naturally coincide with the function of reporting. Prospective labels may also be a source of lexical cohesion within a satellite boundary.

Even though in the process of satellite identification and delimitation primacy was always given to the relation of functionally complete segments to the nucleus, the features enumerated above were taken into account, especially if they co-occurred and pointed in the same direction of analysis. However, it needs to be stressed that the features characterize prototypical satellites and do not have to apply in all cases, or not all of them have to apply simultaneously. For instance, cohesive links were found across a satellite boundary, sometimes even between satellites of different types, especially conjunction or reference, increasing the strength of linearity and reducing the power of radical editability (*but* between Elaboration A1 and B1, *Laura Dekker-her* between Contextualization A1 and Elaboration A1 in example 5). Or, satellite boundaries did not coincide with paragraph or paragraph group boundaries, in which case the functional distinction, theme-rheme structure, cohesion and other signals that create the content (generic) paragraph worked against the formal, graphic paragraph (see e.g. App. 2A , DT12 S1-S2, DT49 S8-S9; App. 2B, G1 S9-S10, G36 S10-S11). In the same vein, a sequence of adjacent forms of presentation (across or within paragraph boundary), especially direct and free direct discourse, attributed to the same source were found to act in different satellites (App. 2A, DT31 S4-S5; App. 2B, G18 S4-S5; App. 2C, I32 S8-S9). Ambiguities based on the indeterminacy of boundaries involved satellite-satellite boundary (App. 2B, G8 S2-S3) or Lead-satellite boundary (App. 2A, DT37; App. 2D, T2).

#### **4.5.4 Sub-satellites and compound satellites**

The rhetorical potential of the hard news story has been attributed to the particulate orbital structure based on the nucleus-satellite dependency, disregarding other possible arrangements. The nucleus-satellite structuring is indeed the most common and prototypical pattern. Nevertheless, some satellite tokens move away from the ideal type and instantiate a satellite-satellite relation, in which the dependent satellite is referred to as sub-satellite; or

satellites create multinuclear units, referred to as compound satellites, comprising mostly two simple satellites.

In a dependency relation obtaining between satellites a satellite folds back not to the nucleus but to a preceding satellite. The following example illustrates one case of inter-satellite dependency, signalled by a multi-level numbering.

Example 11

**Headline**

Wikileaks disclosures put agents' lives at risk, says US

**Lead**

THE lives of informants and double agents have been placed at risk by the publishing of tens of thousands of secret military documents, intelligence officials have said.

**#S7/ Contextualization A1**

The Pentagon announced it had launched a criminal investigation into the leak, and described Bradley Manning, the army analyst already in custody in relation to an earlier breach of security, as a "person of interest".

**#S7.1/ Contextualization B1**

The 22-year-old private was arrested in May for leaking a video of a Baghdad air strike to Wikileaks. Manning is believed to be held at a US military prison in Kuwait and is expected to face military trial overseas. An online support group has been set up to raise money for his defence. (App. 2A, DT17)

The point of contention revealed in the nucleus is the information leaks for which the website Wikileaks is held responsible and whose publication threatens the lives' of agents and informants. Satellite 7 (S7), Contextualization A1, specifies the event following the leak (investigation) and brings to the scene the character of Bradley Manning, not mentioned in the nucleus. Satellite 7 is itself specified by the following dependent satellite, Contextualization B1 (hence S7.1), offering background information about the newly introduced figure and thus unlikely to link back to the Headline and Lead.

Since sub-satellites are rare, 31 compared to 1653 satellites dependent on the nucleus, only a note in passing will be made on the consequences for the rhetorical potential of the orbital structure enriched by inter-satellite dependency. First, since a sub-satellite does not link back to the nucleus but a preceding satellite, inter-satellite relations diminish the nuclear role of the Headline and Lead. Whereas the structure based on the nucleus-satellite relation is

rather flat, not allowing for a more complex description expressing multiple relations, the presence of sub-satellites enables the development of thought and can result in greater-depth treatment (Iedema et al. 1994, 187). In these cases the rhetorical impact is not achieved by repeating or foregrounding the message in the nucleus but by strategies with a more argumentative potential, disrupting to a degree the random ordering of satellites and radical editability. Since inter-satellite chaining transpires greater rhetorical effort and argumentative planning on the part of the reporter and thus detracts from the desirable impression of objectivity, it does not occur very frequently and in the majority of cases involves only one-level dependency, i.e. only two satellites (but see App. 2A, DT17 for quite an extensive inter-satellite chaining). All sub-satellites were included in the analysis as well as the direct forms occurring in them.

A compound satellite comprises mostly two rhetorically equally significant parts (simple satellites). Respecting the primacy of nucleus-satellite relation to a possible satellite-satellite relation, in contrast to sub-satellites rhetorically each member in a compound satellite relates to the nucleus and provides any kind of specification mentioned in 4.5.3. Despite the functional-generic diversity they are found in one paragraph, featuring “a mismatch between graphic and content segmentation”, in which content (in the present context generic) paragraphs do not correspond to formal or physical paragraphs (Pípalová 2008, 24-25). Since sometimes paragraph unity is accompanied by formal/cohesive links between the satellites, a multinuclear interpretation was preferred to postulating two simple satellites found in one paragraph. Moreover, in some cases the formal unity is reduced to one sentence, which makes a simple satellite analysis even more difficult (e.g. App. 2A, DT1 S4, DT6 S6; App. 2B, G3 S2, G22 S9; App. 2C, I17 S1). It also complicates the analysis of the distribution of reported language and narration and it is especially for this reason that compound satellites and the direct forms of presentation in them were disregarded (with the exception of Elaboration strings dealt with in 6.5.1 – 6.5.5).

White (1998, 278-282) does not raise the issue of compound satellites theoretically but in his analysis of a sample newspaper report he assigns one satellite the function of Cause and Effect + Elaboration, and thus seems to tacitly accept a possible multifunctional character of satellites. In the present corpus, compared to the total of 1684 unambiguous simple (sub)satellites, there are 40 instances of compound satellites, comprising altogether 83 individual satellites, including ambiguous cases. The frequency of satellite types found in compound satellites correlates more or less with the frequency of central, simple satellites: Elaboration (41), Appraisal (13), Contextualization (10), Consequence (5), Concession (3),



Counter-Justification (4), Balance (4), ambiguity (3) and Justification (0). The following example illustrates the most frequent combination, Elaboration-Appraisal. The multinuclear status of the satellite is indicated by a plus sign.

#### Example 12

##### Headline

‘Ethiopia’s Mandela’ freed five years after disputed elections

##### Headline

Crowds greet opposition leader jailed for treason

##### #S3/Elaboration D1 + Appraisal A1

Earlier, hundreds of supporters lined a red carpet laid from the main road to her home, clutching candles and flowers. Many danced and chanted “Birtukan Mandela”. **“I am so pleased to have been released from that horrible place and to be back with my mother and daughter and supporters,” she said.** (App. 2B, G22)

The Headlines highlight two events – the release of Birtukan Mideksa, an Ethiopian political prisoner (referred to as *Ethiopia’s Mandela*), and the crowds greeting her in the streets. In satellite three (S3), the supporters’ welcome is repeated as Elaboration D1 (Mideksa is referred to as *Birtukan Mandela*), and her release from prison is evaluated as Appraisal A1 (in bold), specifying Mideksa’s emotional response (*so pleased*). Despite forming one paragraph with Elaboration D1 and the reference to supporters, Appraisal A1 does not evaluate the crowds greeting Mideksa but her release, highlighted in the Headline. Still, in the reporting clause of the direct speech, Mideksa is referred to by a pronoun (*she said*), creating a cohesive tie with the possessive determiner (*her*) and the ‘nickname’ in the preceding sentences (Halliday and Hasan 1976). More examples of compound satellites will be provided in chapter 6 and 7.

Even though rhetorically each member in a compound satellite relates to the nucleus, adjacency and graphical unity may in themselves connote connection between the described events, sometimes indicated by a conjunct or conjunction (see e.g. App. 2C, I25 S4). The greater interpretative potential of compound satellites can be one of the reasons for the general preference for single satellites. The occurrence of sub-satellites and compound satellites shows that the purely nucleus-satellite patterning is a matter of type but at the same time their low frequency accents the strength and generic conventionality of the nucleus-satellite pattern.

#### 4.5.5 Satellites – ambiguities

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the kinds of ambiguities in the generic structure and their frequency. Not all ambiguities are of the same incidence and not all involve direct forms of presentation. In total there are 68 ambiguous satellites. The most frequent kind of ambiguity concerned multiple interpretation of the nucleus-satellite relation. In one instance the ambiguity concerned the boundary between two satellites of the same kind (App. 2B, G8 S2-3), and in two cases the ambiguity concerned the boundary between the Lead and the first satellite (e.g. App. 2D, T2 S1), and thus involved also functional indeterminacy. Unclear boundaries were marked as *S(satellite)boundary*. Table 2 summarizes the most frequent types of ambiguities involving only two possible interpretations.

Ambiguous Satellites: Two Interpretations			
	Elaboration	Appraisal	Contextualization
Elaboration			
Appraisal	6		
Contextualization	12	18	
Consequence	2	11	6
Justification	4		
Counter-Justification		1	
Balance		2	2
Lead			1
S Boundary	1		

Table 2: Most frequent ambiguities in the generic structure

As shown above, most commonly the indeterminacy concerns the combination of Elaboration, Appraisal, Contextualization and Consequence. The four most common ambiguities are between Appraisal and Contextualization (18; e.g. App. 2A DT11 S1; App. 2B G2 S5-6, G10 S7; App. 2C I11 S4), Elaboration and Contextualization (12; App. 2A DT7 S1, 3, 5; App. 2B G5 S11; App. 2C T7 S1, T10 S2), Appraisal and Consequence (11; App. 2A DT10 S3, DT11 S3; App. 2B G27 S6; App. 2C I15 S10), Context and Consequence (6; App. 2A DT21 S1; App. 2D T35 S1, 8), and Appraisal and Elaboration (6; App. 2A DT22 S5; App. 2B G14 S4, G15 S4; App. 2D T24 S4). In the corpus the second possible interpretation is given in parentheses. Concrete examples of the most common ambiguities and the role of direct forms of presentation will be examined in the relevant sections in chapter 6.

#### 4.5.6 Features of linearity: wrap-up and concessive/concurring sequences

The preceding chapter dealt with the deviations from the nucleus-satellite structuring in the form of sub-satellites and compound satellites. This section aims to describe two linear patterns of textual arrangement, namely concessive/concurring sequences and wrap-up.<sup>22</sup> Linear arrangement in these patterns has different functions and different repercussions for the rhetorical potential of hard news.

Concessive/concurring sequences should be viewed rather than strictly linear as partaking in both the orbital and linear structure, allowing for multiple linkage with the nucleus and between satellites. They offer a view that seems complementary to rather than directly contradicting the orbital understanding of hard news. While the relation to the nucleus is determined using the framework introduced in 4.5.3, concessive/concurring relations between satellites are much less precise, defined loosely as disagreement/agreement on one issue expressed in adjacent satellites. The link to the nucleus and the kind of relation obtaining between satellites differentiate such sequences from sub-satellites. In some cases, the concessive/concurring relation is signalled formally by cohesion but this is by no means true for all instances and the satellites retain their textual independence of the surrounding satellites. The opinions presented in the satellites often involve the use of reported language and thought and are thus of considerable interest to the present paper.

The passages are based on expressing agreement, disagreement, and the combination of both and are referred to as concurring, concessive, and concessive-concurring respectively. Admittedly, the delimitation based on general (dis)agreement or attitude towards a given theme is fuzzy but despite this it may provide insight into how balanced or unbalanced a report is with regard to the presence of voices, their affiliation with different parts of the generic structure and their mutual interaction.

The source of agreement or disagreement must be between at least two or more different speakers or groups. For instance, a similar point of view articulated by the same source in two different adjacent satellites would not trigger a concurring sequence

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<sup>22</sup> Sometimes the orbital structure appears interlaced with chronologically patterned narrative sequences, which increase text-to-time iconicity (White 1998, 306-310; Martin 1992, 518-519). The inserted sequences, sometimes referred to as recounts, have been noted in Iedema (1997), White (1998) or van Leeuwen (1987). According to Fink (1997, 103), in such sequences the reader must go through the whole story and assess the relative importance of its individual elements. For such cases to work the audience is expected to agree on the significant elements and sympathise with the news actor's voice/point of view. Although recounts may contain direct reported language, revealing a news actor's perspective, and have a clear effect on the rhetorical functionality of the text, their occurrence is marginal and thus will not be examined in detail. Examples can be found in App. 2A DT25 S8, DT34 S3, DT43 S2; App. 2B G4 S5, G21 S7, G22 S7, G23 S4, G39 S3; App. 2C I7 S4, I17 S9, I28 S2-4; App. 2D T29 S4, T45 S3.

interpretation. Agreement or disagreement is marked if it is expressed only between two or more immediately adjacent opinions or pieces of information produced by different speakers or groups of speakers. The requirement of adjacency was set in order to keep the analysis in manageable proportion; relaxing the requirement of adjacency would multiply the number of such (non)sequences but would mainly conceal the fact that, given the discontinuous and cyclical nature of presentation where any satellite can theoretically appear at any place in the generic structure, a decision was made to juxtapose them. Concessive/concurring sequences are comparable to van Leeuwen's (1987, 207) concept of tension, related to the inclusion of two points of view. Example 13 illustrates a concessive-concurring sequence.

### Example 13

#### **Lead**

Senior Labour figures mounted a last-ditch defence of antisocial behaviour orders last night after the home secretary, Theresa May, indicated she is to kill off Tony Blair's flagship measure to deal with youth crime.

#### **##CONCESSIVE - CONCURRING SEQUENCE (S1-S2)**

##### **S1/Elaboration A1**

May said it was "time to move beyond the asbo", arguing that they were never the promised silver bullet and had too often put young people on a conveyor belt to prison.

##### **# xxx**

##### **S2/Elaboration B1**

Two former Labour home secretaries, Alan Johnson and David Blunkett, attacked May's decision. Johnson, in a piece for the Guardian's Comment is Free, argued that asbos had made a huge difference in cutting crime and disorder: "If the home secretary is to restrict the opportunities for the police to use asbos and other measures currently available then this will be yet another example of this government going soft on crime." ~ ~ ~ Blunkett last night went even further and claimed May's speech posed "a major threat to the lives of those at the very sharp end of criminality and dysfunctional communities".

##### **##**

(App. 2B, G2)

The Lead in example 13 reports two communicative events commenting on the fate of asbos (anti-social behaviour orders): their defence by two Labour politicians and the intention to discard them by the Home Secretary. The former reappears as Elaboration B1 (S2) and the latter as Elaboration A1 (S1), found across paragraph boundary and arranged in a concessive-

concurring sequence. In satellite one Theresa May presents asbos in an unfavourable light (*time to move beyond, never a silver bullet, a conveyer belt to prison*), which contrasts with satellite two, expressing Alan Johnson's and David Blunkett's opinions in favour of asbos (*attack on May's decision, made a huge difference in cutting crime and disorder, May's speech posing a threat to ...*). The contrast is symbolized by a sequence of three crosses placed between S1 and S2. In addition, the two opinions in S2 are more or less in agreement, creating a concurring sequence, symbolized by a sequence of three tildes. The scope of the whole sequence is indicated in parentheses (S1-2) and by the double number sign (##) marking the onset and the end of the sequence.

The span of the sequences may range from one satellite to two or more. The corpus contains 89 sequences: 23 concurring, 45 concessive and 21 concessive-concurring. This shows that in most cases the juxtaposed opinions are in contrast. On the whole, the sequences are built on 216 satellites: 51 in concurring sequences, 87 in concessive and 78 in concessive-concurring. As for the individual satellite types, there are 85 Elaborations, 51 Appraisals, 25 Contextualizations, 21 Counter-Justifications, 13 Consequences, 5 Concessions, 2 Balances and 14 ambiguities. Due to their generic function some satellites seem to be more likely to appear in sequences than others. For instance, out of the 33 non-compound and 4 compound Counter-Justification satellites, 21 are arranged in sequences; 51 sequenced Appraisals can be compared to the total of 148 non-compound and 13 compound satellites. On the other hand, though Elaboration (85) is the most frequent satellite contributing to sequences, the number of satellites found outside them is much higher (588 non-compound, 41 compound); similarly, compared to 370 non-compound and 10 compound Contextualization satellites, only 25 of them create concurring/concessive sequences. The presence or absence of direct forms of presentation is largely affected by the kind of the satellite involved.

The employment of concessive/concurring sequences bears on more general issues. Though all sequences broaden the heteroglossic space, the presence of voices which are in agreement may indicate bias towards a particular point of view, while juxtaposing conflicting views ensures negotiation and solidarity with alternative voices. As suggested by the data, it is mostly the latter purpose that seems to motivate the arrangement of satellites. The selectivity of the nucleus reflects in the sequences involving Elaborating and non-elaborating satellites since by definition only the former side is assigned enough significance to be chosen as the angle in the nucleus. As shown, Elaboration is the most frequent satellite partaking in the creation of sequences, which means the nuclear angle is also supported or confronted in the body of the text. Not surprisingly, Appraisal is the second most frequent satellite since its

default function is to evaluate, hence to express one's opinion. Contextualization may present statements which complete the dialogic picture. Counter-Justification, on the other hand, represents the point of view that directly challenges and undermines the voice in the nucleus but which has not been assigned nuclear function itself. Concessive/concurring sequences can to a degree compensate for the lack of argumentation. More examples are provided in chapter 6 and 7.

Another phenomenon that challenges the orbital structure and radical editability is wrap-up, a satellite which provides a sense of closure (White 1998). Wrap-up can supply an ideational kind of conclusion, a natural end point, and thus bring the news story closer to a chronological narrative and increase text-to-time iconicity (White 1998, 294-196; Martin 1992, 517-518). Or, completion can be achieved by final evaluation or interpretation (White 1998, 296-300). The nucleus is no longer the only focus of interpersonal and ideational meaning since comparable concentration of socially significant information is provided in the final section of the report (White 1998, 298). The presence of wrap-up strengthens the role of linear arrangement and staging, creating the sequence of the Headline and the Lead in the beginning, the body of the text in the middle and wrap-up at the end. Examples of different satellites providing closure will be given in chapter 6. For the difference between the wrap-up-cum-satellite described above and the so-called dummy Wrap-up see chapter 4.5.3.

Linear patterns weaken the strength of orbital structuring and radical editability and enrich hard news rhetorically: concessive/concurring sequences make hard news more argumentative and debate-like; recount (see note 22 above) and wrap-up provide chronological description, and natural end-point or interpretation respectively, and thus place the hard news report closer to a narrative. This brings us back to the concept of genre as an ideal type and its concrete instantiations, which despite fulfilling the overriding purpose of hard news may deviate in a number of aspects, including the orbital structure. Now a few comments will be made on textual patterns governing the organization of hard news.

#### **4.5.7 Textual patterns: orbital, periodic and prosodic**

In Systemic Functional Linguistics, different kinds of meaning are associated with different ways of realization or patterning. For example, ideational meaning typically construes the world in terms of constituency, as segments or particles, and thus displays particulate (orbital based on dependency or serial based on equality) patterning (e.g. the nuclear process is accompanied by nuclear/additional participants and circumstances).

Interpersonal meaning is often structured prosodically, as a continuous, extended, non-discreet phenomenon that spreads across a unit and can gain in intensification. Textual meaning is often patterned in a periodic manner, in peaks or pulses of prominence, following or overlapping with one another. The particulate, prosodic and periodic structures can be metaphorically represented as particles, field and wave (Halliday 1979 and Pike 1982 cited in Martin 1992, 10-13; Martin and Rose 2008, 24-28).

Some genres, like recounts, procedures or even chats, are based on linear, sequential ordering and are basically organized serially (Martin and Rose 2008, 25, 233). In hard news the orbital nucleus-satellite relation is emphasised at the expense of relations between satellites. The nuclear role of the Headline and Lead is to identify a point of social significance, forming a peak or pulse of interpersonal meaning (White 1998, 300-301). Satellites, serving to specify the selected point of impact, are relatively backgrounded, whereas the constant reference to the nucleus keeps it periodically in the foreground. Any time a satellite links back to the nucleus, this point of salience is brought into relief, creating a series of culminative waves or rhythmic pulses, maintaining the newsworthy event in focus (Martin 1992, 11; White 1998, 302, 305, 402).

The periodic organization based on recycled sequences of peaks and troughs is metaphorically represented as a wave pattern with the crest (peak, nucleus) and the foot (trough, satellites) (Martin 1992, 11-12, 559-560; Martin and Rose 2008, 26-27; White 1998). The nucleus is thus not only the concentration of interpersonal and ideational meaning, but also the centre of gravity of textual meaning. The rhetorical potential of the generic structure of the news report lies in the “periodic structure organiz[ing] ... orbital structure into pulses of information” (Martin and Rose 2008, 26). The combination of the periodic and orbital structure contributes to the generic distinctiveness and communicative purpose of hard news, compensates for the lack of argumentation and by recurrent reference to the nucleus emphasises the social significance of the selected event and pushes the point through to the reader. Let us now consider the following example, discussed already as example 13 above.

#### Example 14

##### **Lead**

Senior Labour figures mounted a last-ditch defence of antisocial behaviour orders last night after the home secretary, Theresa May, indicated she is to kill off Tony Blair’s flagship measure to deal with youth crime.

##### **S1/Elaboration A1**

May said it was **“time to move beyond the asbo”**, *arguing that they were never the promised silver bullet and had too often put young people on a conveyor belt to prison.*

### #S3/Elaboration A2

In her first speech on antisocial behaviour and alcohol-fuelled disorder, the home secretary said it was time to turn the system on its head and demonstrate that community action was needed, rather than Whitehall “magic buttons”. *May said she wanted asbos replaced with simpler sanctions that were easier to obtain and to enforce: “Where possible they should be rehabilitating and restorative, rather than criminalising and coercive.”* (App. 2B, G2)

The focus is placed on May’s statements made during her speech promoting the cancellation of antisocial behaviour orders. As reported language has not been dealt with yet, only a partial analysis is provided, highlighting only the points relevant to the discussion. The Lead brings forward May’s intention to discard asbos (underlined) in the form of indirect speech (*the Home secretary, ..., indicated she is...*). Being indirect in form, it is not to be understood as a (form close to a) verbatim presentation of the original utterance but as a paraphrased summary, possibly enriched by the interpretation of the reporting speaker (e.g. Semino et al. 1997). In other words, the content is reported to an extent from the perspective of the reporting speaker, i.e. the journalist (e.g. Sanders and Redeker 1993). The same topic, again marked by underlining, is raised in S1, Elaboration A1, and later in S3, Elaboration A2. In these cases the indirect speech forms are interlaced with stretches of discourse partially quoted directly, marked in bold: Elaboration A1 talks about “time to move beyond the asbo” and Elaboration A2 talks about the need to change the system of Whitehall “magic buttons”. Consequently, the perspective and interpretation of the reporter present in the indirect parts mesh with the perspective of the reported speaker, retained in the partial quotes.

The forms of presentation marked in italics in Elaboration A1 and A2 argue for the change by referring to the inefficiency or even harmful effects of the system. Elaboration A1 relies on indirect speech (*arguing that they were never the promised silver bullet...*) and Elaboration A2 on indirect speech (*May said she wanted asbos replaced with simpler sanctions that...*) followed by an instance of direct speech (“Where possible they should be rehabilitating and restorative, rather than criminalising and coercive.”). In comparison to indirect speech, direct speech is said to adhere to the meaning and form of the original event (Semino et al. 1997) and thus retains the perspective of the reported speaker in its entirety and is not affected by the reporting speaker.



In this example, the forms of presentation create two separate threads. The forms reporting the intention to cancel asbos (underlined) form the following sequence: indirect speech (Lead) and two instances of indirect speech combined with a partial quote (Elaborations A1, A2). The forms reporting the inefficiency and negative aspects of asbos (in italics) establish the order of indirect speech (Elaboration A1), indirect speech and direct speech (Elaboration A2). In other words, the instances of indirect speech, i.e. summaries reflecting the perspective of the reporter, are followed by combinations of direct and indirect speech, i.e. blends of perspective, and an instance of direct speech, reflecting the perspective of the reported speaker.

Applying the periodic pattern discussed in connection with the nucleus to the Elaboration satellites and reported language in them, the sequences of forms of presentation may also be seen as creating a wave-like pattern: the indirect summarizing form in the beginning functions as the foot of the wave, which gradually unfolds until it reaches the peak or the crest of the wave, created by the direct form reporting the original event in full. With every pulse the change in form of presentation from relatively indirect to comparatively more direct or fully direct is accompanied by a shift in perspective from the reporting towards the reported speaker, ultimately laying it out entirely on reaching the peak of the wave. Thus the reported speaker's perspective and with it the elements of individualization and subjectivity are portioned to the reader gradually, exploiting in its own way and for its own purpose the repetitiveness of the periodic pattern.

Periodicity is also connected to prospection (Martin and Rose 2008, 26-27). Applied to the context of reported language, more summarizing/indirect forms can be seen as signs of prospection, as signposts which guide the interpretation of the subsequent (relatively more) direct form(s). This is especially important since a language event is taken out of its original context and placed into a new context of the news report. Also, neutral reporting nouns or verbs accompanying direct forms do not often specify the speech act value. Or, the sequence could also be looked at retrospectively, i.e. direct forms can act to support more summarizing, reporting speaker-oriented forms and thus reinforce their truthfulness or reliability. This interaction can be found across a satellite, but is most noticeable within it.

The orbital and periodic patterns have been mostly discussed in connection with their role in emphasising the nucleus and the potential rhetorical benefit to the body of the text has not been considered. Given that perspective is essentially interpersonal (discussed more in 5.5.2) and thus realized prosodically as an uninterrupted continuum between the perspective of the reported and reporting speaker, one of the questions the paper aims to tentatively

address is whether there are any tendencies in the way reported language exploits the interplay of the orbital, periodic and prosodic patterning, for example in the manner described in example 14. The sequencing of forms of presentation and/or narration across the body of the text is addressed particularly in chapter 6.5 dealing with Elaboration, but will be briefly noted also during the discussion of other satellite types.

## **5. Approaches to the classification of forms of presentation**

This chapter briefly describes various approaches to the categorization of reported language, including McHale (1978), Thompson (1996), Sinclair (1988), Smirnova (2009) and Vandelanotte (2009) and then introduces in greater detail the taxonomy of forms which provided the basis for the present analysis (Semino et al. 1997, Semino and Short 2004). Attention is paid to the speech, writing and thought distinction, and the scale of presentation including free direct and direct discourse, non-direct forms and their partially quoted variants. Also, a few notes will be made on the phenomenon of embedding, the frequency of occurrence of direct forms of presentation and ambiguities.

### **5.1 McHale (1978)**

McHale criticises the traditional accounts concerned primarily with the relation of derivation obtaining between forms of presentation and endorses the idea of continuum between diegesis and mimesis. Forms of reported language represent “a convenient” though not “exhaustive” ways of partitioning the scale, allowing for the introduction of other transitional or mixed forms (McHale 1978, 260). At the one end of the scale McHale places diegetic summary, noting only the occurrence of a speech event without further specification, and summary, which also to some degree represents the topic; then there are two types of indirect discourse: indirect content-paraphrase and indirect discourse that is mimetic to some degree, preserving some stylistic aspects of the supposed original; free indirect discourse is mimetically intermediate between indirect and direct discourse; the continuum ends with the categories of direct discourse and free direct discourse, which are most purely mimetic and differ only orthographically (McHale 1978, 258-260). McHale’s classification is comparable to or reflected in Thompson’s distinction alongside the dimension of message and the scale proposed by Leech and Short (1981), Semino et al. (1997) and Semino and Short (2004) (see below).

### **5.2 Thompson (1996)**

Thompson’s (1996) classification of reported language emphasises functional rather than formal criteria and includes four dimensions which cut across one another and there is no one-to-one relation between them. The dimensions are voice, i.e. the source of attribution,

message, i.e. the way the original is presented, signal, i.e. the way (form) by means of which voice is referred to, and finally attitude, i.e. evaluation by the reported or reporting speaker. The aspect of voice revolves round the specificity and specifiability of the source, distinguishing among self, specified and unspecified others, community and unspecifiable others (Thompson 1996, 507-511). Attitude is simply treated as a system of three choices – positive, negative and neutral (Thompson 1996, 521-523).

The criteria of message and signal provide common points on which Thompson's classification can be compared to Semino et al. (1997) or Semino and Short (2004). The aspect of message mirrors the extent to which the form matches the supposed original event and is thus close to Semino et al.'s (1997) faithfulness claims or McHale's (1978) degree of mimesis/diegesis. Thompson's category of quote roughly corresponds to (free) direct discourse, echo seems close to free indirect discourse, paraphrase has much in common with indirect discourse and the last two forms, summary and omission, overlap with Semino and Short's narrator's representation of speech act with and without topic (see below) (Thompson 1996, 511-518). The category of signal reflects the (im)possibility to separate the reported and reporting element and the (in)dependency of the reporting signal, resulting in a four-group classification including a separate dominant signal (including e.g. the reporting clause in indirect discourse), a separate equal signal (including e.g. the reporting clause in direct discourse), a separate subordinate signal (including mostly reporting adjuncts) and a fused signal (e.g. the forms of the message itself, such as pronouns or tense in free indirect discourse) (Thompson 1996, 519-521). In Semino et al. (1997), Semino and Short (2004) as well as in the present approach to classification the categories of signal and message are more fully accented than those of attitude and voice.

### **5.3 Sinclair (1988) and Smirnova (2009)**

Both Sinclair (1988) and Smirnova (2009) highlight the importance of mutual interaction between reported language and its context. Sinclair's (1988, 22-23) view is based on the contrast between attribution (report) and averral (non-report), and the allocation of responsibility to "the sayer of what is said, the writer of what is written", i.e. the reported speaker/writer in the case of attribution and the averring speaker/writer (narrator) in the case of averral. More importantly, his view of attribution, and text in general, is largely dialogic and interactive, with the intended reader in mind; this also transpires into his classification of

attributed discourse according to whether the attributed segments contrast in stance with the surrounding (averred) text (Sinclair 1988, 23).

Smirnova's (2009) classification of reported language chiefly but not exclusively takes into account the level of faithfulness to the original message but is also affected by the purpose of her study and the genre she focuses on. In her integral approach she strives to find a relation between semantic and syntactic properties of forms of presentation and their argumentative role in the discourse of the contemporary British quality press. The basic division is into literal, liberal and combined structures, where literal structures are purported to aim at verbatim reproduction, liberal structures show greater freedom of presentation and combined structures unite literal and liberal ones, and each category is associated with different argumentative intentions (Smirnova 2009, 82, 84). The focus on textual and rhetorical employment is traceable for example in her combined structures, i.e. sequences of liberal and literal structures, where the latter may be used to support the former (Smirnova 2009, 82, 84). Her examples show sequences of various forms of presentation, possibly in combination with narration, forming rhetorical units in which they operate as thesis or argument(s) which under the guise of being informative either refute or support the claim in the thesis (Smirnova 2009, 88-90).

#### **5.4 Vandelanotte (2009)**

In contrast to the approaches working with the degree of faithfulness to the supposed original, the idea of continuum, fuzzy boundaries and intermediate cases, Vandelanotte (2009) adopts a cognitive-functional approach and places emphasis on syntagmatic properties – the relation between the reporting and reported clause, and deictic and expressive features aligned with either the current (reporting) and represented (reported) speaker. The reporting clause functions as the head of the structure since it implies the act of saying/thinking (as opposed to doing) but is in itself conceptually incomplete and needs to be complemented by the reported clause with different degrees of autonomy depending on the latter's syntagmatic, deictic and expressive properties (Vandelanotte 2009, 37-50). These parameters work as the basis for classification and the differences in the autonomy of the reported clause correspond to the canonical types of direct, indirect and free indirect reported discourse. Consequently, although the idea of continuum may not be completely absent from Vandelanotte's typology, the formal criteria make the boundaries between the individual forms more clear-cut and more

precisely defined. Form is, however, always correlated with the meaning it conveys and its role following from the specifics of the current and represented situations.

Unfortunately, the parameter of syntagmatic relation between the reporting and reported clause limits the scope of his study to forms which are characterised by a separate reporting clause. On the other hand, Vandelanotte (2009, 141-279) proposes a new category of distancing indirect speech, covering cases which would be traditionally treated within the category of free indirect speech, and provides a detailed account of subjectified forms functioning as hedges rather than speech or thought representations *sensu stricto*.

## **5.5 The present approach: Semino and Short (2004) and earlier works**

This chapter describes the taxonomy of forms applied to the present analysis. The classification was introduced gradually with modifications in Leech and Short (1981), Semino et al. (1997), Short et al. (1998) and Semino and Short (2004). The description of direct, non-direct and combined forms will touch upon the following aspects: speech, writing and thought distinction; scalar nature of reported language; deictic and grammatical properties, including the dependency relation between the reporting and reported element and the form of the latter; faithfulness claims; the degree of reporting and reported speaker's control and perspective; embedded and hypothetical forms; and the correlation between the individual phenomena.

Although the work focuses on direct forms of presentation, attention will be paid to non-direct forms as well since the properties of direct forms are best viewed against those of non-direct forms, especially given the scalar character of reported language. In addition, non-direct forms are vital for the description of combined forms, i.e. non-direct forms the content of which is partially quoted directly. Also, in later chapters the function of direct forms in the individual parts of the generic structure is often contrasted against non-direct forms or narration, and as emphasized by Smirnova (2009), direct and non-direct forms often form closely-knit rhetorical units. Furthermore, in the actual texts, direct and non-direct forms are related not only functionally, but also formally due to embedding (see below). Consequently, the analysis of solely (non)direct forms is virtually impossible and may result in obtaining only a partial picture of how reported language works.

All forms of presentation will be illustrated by examples excerpted from the corpus. The description is included in pointy brackets; the typographical conventions and abbreviations will be introduced gradually in the course of discussion; additional details are provided in Appendix 1A. The analysis of examples may be only partial, limited to the forms

under attention, but the complete analysis can be found in Appendices 2A-2D. The reference to complete texts is included in parentheses. Chapter 5.5.4 provides an overview of the frequency of occurrence of direct forms and 5.5.5 makes a few notes on ambiguities.

### **5.5.1 Speech, writing and thought distinction**

The speech, writing and thought distinction is the basic classificatory criterion. Semino and Short (2004, 61) note that reference to spoken language represents a large proportion of newspaper reports, including debates or negotiations, spoken public pronouncements, comments and opinions of direct participants, witnesses or people otherwise involved in news events (e.g. examples 2-6 in chapter 5.5.2). Forms of presentation reporting instances of written language (example 1 in 5.5.2) refer to reports in other newspapers, magazines and scientific journals, various official governmental reports and reviews, political and legal documents and private letters or emails.

The association between channel and situation of use may evoke different expectations. For example, due to possible expectations of more faithful reproduction written language may serve the purpose of enhancing factuality and credibility (Semino and Short 2004, 110). Still, in the case of published private correspondence (example 1 in 5.5.2), it may also serve the purpose of dramatization, personalization and vividness, a property associated mainly with spoken language (Semino and Short 2004, 93). Although speech and writing presentation may be functionally differentiated,<sup>23</sup> the fact that an explicit signal is not always provided may indicate that this distinction may not be of utmost importance. Although in the analysis the distinction between speech and writing reports is retained, in the discussion of individual forms it is often disregarded on account of their ontological identity (i.e. both report language events) and focus is placed on the functional differences derived from their formal, semantic and pragmatic properties.

Contrary to speech and writing reports, thought reports are non-verbalized and thus significantly different in the way they are accessed by the reporting speaker. Thought is a private phenomenon which is not directly observable and theoretically impossible to report directly (Leech and Short 1981, 344-345). Also, the newspaper reporter cannot assume the role of an omniscient narrator with access to the mind of the reported individual. Consequently, the reporter tends to resort to a non-direct and hence less “forced and artificial”

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<sup>23</sup> Speech and writing have been recognized as two functionally distinct norms (e.g. Vachek 1989). With the rise of information technologies and pervasive influence of the internet the amount and role of written language have probably increased.

form of thought report (Semino and Short 2004, 118). If direct or combined thought reports occur, they may produce an enlivening, personalizing and dramatizing effect since they make the impression that the reader is allowed to see for himself what the reported speaker thought as if on the spot, no matter how plausible such direct verbalization of thought is.

Direct and combined thought is often contained within a speech or writing report (Semino and Short 2004, 33-35), sometimes as a self-quote. Irrespective of the degree of directness, all forms reporting thought which are not self-reports and thus cannot be accounted for by direct access to the supposed original are marked as instances of “inferred” thought, formulated probably on the basis of observation of verbal or non-verbal behaviour (Semino and Short 2004, 55-56). In line with Semino and Short (2004), the *inferred* status of thought reports is indicated by the *-i* tag, appended to the main abbreviation (example 7 in 5.5.2); non-inferred thought reports, i.e. those which could be understood as based on direct access, are left unmarked.

### 5.5.2 Direct, non-direct and combined forms of presentation

As mentioned above, reported language exhibits features of scalarity, creating a continuum of forms with those showing a maximal degree of directness at one pole and those showing a minimal or zero degree of directness at the opposite pole (Semino et al. 1997, Semino and Short 2004). Semino et al. (1997) and Semino and Short (2004) rely on a set of three faithfulness claims to form and structures used, propositional content and speech act value, and apply them systematically to all forms of presentation, distinguishing between them by means of the presence or absence of a given claim. Faithfulness is referred to by various labels, including verbatim reproduction or exact wording of the original (Quirk et al. 1985, 1021; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1023; Coulmas 1986, 42). Although it may be justified in certain contexts, its indiscriminate application to the delimitation of forms of presentation is problematic and a number of opposing views have emerged, criticising the concept as untenable on the grounds of its inapplicability to a number of situations.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The reasons speaking for abandoning the concept relate to the conditions of production and perception of discourse, limitations on human memory, inter-language and inter-semiotic transfer, intentional summarization or departicularization, non-existence of the original, re-contextualization and the overall subordination of direct forms to the communicative purpose of the reporting context (Sternberg 1982, Vandelanotte 2009, Slembrouck 1992, Tannen 1986, Tannen 2007, Ikeo 2007). Clark and Gerrig (1990, 768-769, 774-780) solve the problems with faithfulness by introducing the principle of selectivity, maintaining that reporting speakers are selective in what they present as direct quotations, be it propositional content, illocutionary force, locution and delivery aspects of spoken/written language, such as pitch or voice quality. Another source of disagreement is that some studies (e.g. Sternberg 1982) embrace a broader understanding of the concept, including e.g. phonic/graphic



Although the ultimate classification draws, with minor modifications, on the works by Leech, Semino, and Short, some points in their approach, especially their faithfulness claims, are not fully endorsed and greater weight is given to more reliable criteria, namely the syntagmatic properties of the individual forms and the deictic/expressive features of the reporting and reported situations. These are then interpreted in functional terms. Moreover, faithfulness claims and formal/deictic properties are closely interrelated and the former are to an extent derivable from the latter. Although not rooted in a cognitive framework, in the focus on deictic features the present approach is close to that proposed by Vandanelanotte (2009), or Sternberg (1982). Otherwise the ideas advocated in Leech, Semino and Short will represent the core of the discussion, starting with direct and free direct forms of presentation. All stretches of direct quotation (full or partial) are marked in bold.

At the most direct end of the scale there are direct discourse (DD) and free direct discourse (FDD), including (free)direct speech (F)DS, (free)direct writing (F)DW, and (free)direct thought (F)DT. Since both DD and FDD are characterised by the same set of faithfulness claims, syntactic and deictic properties, they will be discussed together (Semino et al., 1997, Sternberg, 1982, Vandanelanotte, 2009, see below and the discussion in chapter 6.2). Moreover, sometimes they are not considered separate categories but pragmatic variants (e.g. Semino and Short 2004, 88; Short 1988, 70-71; Vandanelanotte 2009, 3-4). The present approach follows Leech and Short (1981) and retains the distinction; FDD differs from DD in that it lacks the reporting clause within the same sentence and/or quotation marks, or both (Leech and Short, 1981, 322; but see Appendix 1A example 4). In this respect, the present approach differs slightly from Semino and Short; for a detailed discussion on their distinction between FDD and DD see Semino and Short (2004, 194-197).

Example 1 illustrates an instance of direct writing (DW, in bold), introduced by an initial reporting clause, referred to as narrator's report of writing, and abbreviated to NRW (Semino and Short 2004, 48). Narrator's report of speech, writing and thought (NRS, NRW, NRT) includes any separate reporting signal, be it a clause, a nominalised form or an adverbial. The stretch of discourse preceding NRW and DW is non-reported narration, abbreviated to N.

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features whose reproduction is only partially attainable, especially if the media of the original and subsequent report differ. Others like e.g. Short et al. (2002) seem to distinguish between faithfulness and verbatim reproduction and reduce faithfulness to form only to lexico-grammatical features. Although in their distinction between faithfulness and verbatim reproduction, Short et al. (2002, 328) mention in passing that the latter may also include "where communicatively relevant, contrastive stress and other speech/writing production factors", they do not treat these aspects systematically and do not incorporate them in their faithfulness claims. Consequently, the expression *original* is to be interpreted rather as *presumed original* since, as will be shown later, the use of direct forms may not depend on the existence of prior discourse.

### Example 1

<N>Floral tributes were left near the house. <NRW>One read: <DW>**“To darling Katy. RIP angel. We will miss you so much”**. (App. 2C, I32)

Example 2 is a sequence of direct speech (DS) with a final reporting clause (NRS), followed by free direct speech (FDS) with quotation marks but without a separate reporting clause in the same sentence.

### Example 2

Yesterday he made clear that those who chose not to work would face stricter penalties. <DS>**“We will break down the barrier to work and ensure work pays but in return, we have the right to insist that when work is available you take that work and work hard to keep that job,”** <NRS>he said. <FDS>**“For those who want to choose not to work, under this Government that will no longer be an option.”** (App. 2D, T20)

As in example 2, due to the lack of the reporting signal, FDD is normally coupled with some other form of presentation which clearly specifies the source of attribution, or it is found adjacent to a piece of narrated discourse which makes direct reference to the reported speaker. Looking at the matter from the opposite angle, there is no need to specify the source in FDD as it has been already identified in the prior context and thus FDD can be employed in order to avoid repetition and/or save space (Semino and Short 2004, 194-197; Vandelanotte 2009, 3-4). In all cases, however, to ensure the clarity of reference the reporting signal is found within a paragraph boundary (example 2) or in adjacent paragraphs (see e.g. App. 2A, DT29 S5; App. 2B, G37 S9).

Even though FDD is found across a paragraph boundary, in the majority of cases it forms a functional generic unit with the preceding reported or narrative piece of discourse. This is due to the fact that FDD functions either to repeat or develop the statement or idea brought forward in the preceding portion of discourse. The functional unity is associated with referential dependency of FDD and is often signalled by the lack of final quotation marks in the preceding direct form (see e.g. App. 2B, G37 S9). The division into separate paragraphs is attributable to the general strategy of eye paragraphing, which may require splitting a long quote while avoiding the repetition of the reporting verb and making the text more reader friendly (Semino and Short 2004, 94-95). FDD appears as a stand-alone functional unit in the generic structure only marginally, especially in Headlines.

FDD and DD are marked for the same set of faithfulness claims, namely to form and structures used, propositional content and speech act value (e.g. Semino et al. 1997, 23). Vandelanotte (2009, 41-50) highlights a relatively great degree of independence enjoyed by the reported element in (F)DD, and the relation between the reported and reporting clause (if present) is referred to as juxtaposition. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 384, 443, 445-448) define the relation as paratactic, i.e. of equal status.<sup>25</sup> Quirk et al. (1985, 1022-1024) admit that the structural relation between the reporting and reported clause presents problems, and argue for and against the subordinate status of either of the two clauses. Although Leech and Short (1981, 318-351) make a few scattered references to subordination in indirect discourse, they do not deal with the syntactic relation between the reporting and reported clause in (F)DD systematically, and discuss (F)DD only in terms of faithfulness. The same approach is found in Semino and Short (2004, 92), with a passing reference to the independent and dependent status of the reported clause in (F)DD and indirect discourse respectively.

The relative autonomy of the reported element in (F)DD affects many of its aspects, including deictic expressions, basic clause types and expressive features, and variable position of the reporting clause (initial, medial, final). Deictic centre, as understood by Vandelanotte (2009, 60), comprises not only spatiotemporal coordinates but the whole “situatedness” of one participant in a speech event, and plays a vital role in the function of direct (and indirect) forms. In (F)DD, the original deictic centre and the deictic centre of the current/reporting speaker are clearly separated, the former being left *uncontaminated*, preserving its speech-functional responsibility (Vandelanotte 2009, 188). As a result, in direct reported clause the deictic centre retains its “full operativity” and the reported clause “re-enacts” fully the original speech situation, expressing independently speech function and other interpersonal meanings (Vandelanotte 2009, 188, 240).

The role of the deictic centre is also upheld as essential by Sternberg (1982, 110-112), who like Vandelanotte lays emphasis on the deictic double-centredness of (F)DD. The deictic double-centredness of (F)DD lies in a clear separation of the deictic centre of the reporting and reported element: “the inset [reported clause] takes its orientation from the speech event . . . whose coordinates diverge in principle from those of the . . . frame [reporting clause]” (Sternberg 1982, 110). Sternberg (1982, 111), however, hastens to explain that deictic independence is by no means to be equated with communicative autonomy evinced by non-reported (narrative/primary) discourse, alluding to the subordination of (F)DD to the ultimate communicative purpose of the reporter. Nevertheless, the syntactic and deictic autonomy of

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<sup>25</sup> For criticism see Vandelanotte (2009, 47-48).

the reported element in (F)DD allows the occurrence of exclamations, imperatives, vocatives, interjections, discourse markers or incomplete sentences, i.e. phenomena serving to express interactive, interpersonal meanings connected to the I – you axis of the original speech situation (Banfield 1973, 6-10, 27; Vandelanotte 2009, 41-50; Sternberg 1982, 108-112).

Considering example 1, the reported clause contains an incomplete sentence (*To darling Katy*), an imperative structure and vocative (*RIP angel*), and first and second person pronouns (*we, you*), present also in example 2. The fact that the deictic centre is fully retained enables (F)DD to demonstrate or re-enact, i.e. act out anew, the reported language event, maintain its expressivity and portray the event entirely within the subjectivity or perspective of the reported speaker (Clark and Gerrig, 1990, Vandelanotte, 2009). The language event is reported as if through the eyes of the reported speaker and through the angle the event was felt, understood and assessed (Genette 1980; Toolan 1988, 68).

The next form to be discussed is free indirect discourse (FID), including free indirect speech (FIS), free indirect writing (FIW) and free indirect thought (FIT). According to Semino et al. (1997, 23), FID is characterised by the faithfulness claims to propositional content, speech act value and possibly and/or partially also to words and structures used. The questionable status of the faithfulness claim to form is related to the blended nature of FID. Traditionally, FID is defined as a form between indirect discourse and (F)DD. On the one hand, the reporting clause is parenthetical or missing entirely, and the lack of indisputable syntactic subordination allows the maintenance of the reported speaker's deictic centre, reflected e.g. in the use of expressive features typically found in (F)DD. On the other hand, however, the form also reflects the deictic centre of the reporting speaker, shown in tense and personal pronouns (Redeker 1996, 222-223). Reference to blended, mixed, dual or blurred nature of FID can be found in Banfield (1973, 10-13), McHale (1978), Semino et al. (1997, 23-24), Leech and Short (1981, 325-334), Oltean (2003, 167-168), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 465-6) or Sotirova (2004, 216-217). Leech and Short (1981, 333) consider the form with a parenthetical reporting clause further removed from FID, especially in the absence of "positive indications of freeness" in the reported clause, and refer to its "janus-like character", positing it between FID and indirect discourse.

Example 3 illustrates free indirect speech (FIS) without a reporting clause. Moreover, it exemplifies the so-called embedded quotation phenomenon, stretches of partial direct quotation occurring within non-direct (all forms excluding FDD and DD) forms of presentation (Semino et al. 1997, 31; Semino and Short 2004, 54-55). The presence of a partially quoted direct discourse is abbreviated to *-q* appended to the main tag (e.g. FIS-q);

the words in quotation marks are typed in bold. Since partial quotation appears more frequently with other types of non-direct discourse, a more detailed discussion of its nature and function will ensue after the relevant forms have been introduced. Suffice it to say now that contrary to FID, which is a blend of (F)DD and indirect discourse the features of which are instantiated simultaneously, the features of directness and non-directness in non-direct forms with a partial quotation are clearly separated formally by quotation marks.

### Example 3

<NRS>He added: <DS> **“When the state retirement age of 65 was introduced the average life expectancy was 64 and nine months.** <FIS-q> Speculation that the retirement age would go up to 70 was **“nonsense”**, though. (App. 2C, I2)

The FIS-q contains no reporting clause but the source (he, Steve Webb) can be retrieved from the preceding discourse. Most cases of FID-q follow or precede a different form of reported language. Moreover, in example 3 the FIS-q is formally and semantically linked to the preceding DS by the conjunct *though*, which also suggests the continuation of the subjective perspective of the reported speaker unambiguously established in the preceding DS. There is also a thematic link between the two forms since the FIS-q continues the issue of the retirement age raised in the DS. Furthermore, the directly quoted word (*nonsense*) reflects Mr Webb’s perspective both in terms of content and style. The blended nature of FID-q is shown in the verb tense (*was*), reflecting the deictic centre of the journalist. In this case contextual coherence, lexis and cohesive devices help maintain the reported speaker’s perspective (Ehrlich 1990, Sotirova 2004, Ikeo 2007).

Adjacent to FID on the scale of directness is indirect discourse (ID), including indirect speech (IS), indirect writing (IW) and indirect thought (IT). Compared to (F)DD and FID, ID is said to be faithful only to propositional content and speech act value (Semino et al. 1997, 23). As with (F)DD and FID, faithfulness can be connected to the syntactic relation between the reporting and reported clause and deictic properties. In contrast to (F)DD and FID, the reported clause is syntactically subordinated to the reporting clause. Quirk et al. (1985, 1025-1032) label the reported clause as dependent nominal clause, often functioning as object; Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 444, 448-456) specify the relation between the reporting and reported clause as hypotactic. Although they do not fully incorporate the relation between the reporting and reported clause into their description, Leech and Short (1981, 318-351) and Semino and Short (2004, 92) also seem to subscribe to the subordinate relation of the latter to

the former. Vandelanotte (2009, 41-50) defines the relation between the reporting and reported clause as that of incorporation, meaning the reporting clause must appear initially and cannot be normally omitted, the reported clause may require the presence of a complementizer, cannot operate independently in terms of speech function and is generally more tightly linked to the reporting clause.

Regarding the deictic orientation of ID,<sup>26</sup> the reported clause (as well as the reporting clause) is geared to the orientation of the current/reporting speaker (Vandelanotte 2009, 188), leaving the interpersonal level of the original situation accessible only via the reporting situation. In other words, the operativity of the original deictic centre is very low, reducing independent speech re-enactment to zero (Vandelanotte 2009, 240). In a similar vein, Sternberg (1982, 110) considers ID a single-centred and self-centred structure in that all deictics in the reported clause take their orientation from the spatiotemporal coordinates of the reporting clause. While the reported clause in (F)DD has the reported situation as its frame of orientation, ID adopts the frame of orientation of the current, reporting event (Lucy 1993, 18-19).

Example 4 illustrates an instance of indirect speech (IS) and indirect speech combined with a partial quote (in bold, IS-q). As in FID, ID will be of interest primarily if appearing with a partial quote.

#### Example 4

<NRS>Sara Payne, the mother of murdered eight-year-old schoolgirl Sarah, said<IS-q> she was “**disgusted**” by the Government's actions <N>while<NRS> the Association of Chief Police Officers said <IS>the body should remain an independent agency. (App. 2A, DT30)

In the IS-q the reporting clause is in initial position and the reporting verb (*said*) in the past tense, reflecting the deictic centre and perspective of the reporting situation. From the journalist's perspective, the state of being disgusted is located in the past (*was*) and the person affected by that state has the status of third, rather than first, person (*she*). The reported clause thus maintains the perspective established in the NRS, which is effectively narration, shown also in the means used to refer to the reported speaker – the first name and surname (*Sara*

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<sup>26</sup> The process known as backshift of tense and other deictic forms is discussed in Quirk et al. (1985, 1026-1029), Comrie (1986), Declerck (1990), Declerck and Tanaka (1996), Salkie and Reed (1997) or Vandelanotte (2009). Van Leeuwen (1987) discusses the difference in the use of tense in dependence on different generic strategies used in media texts. Iedema et al. (1994, 244) mention the use of past and present tense in the reporting clause in connection with the degree of immediacy of reporting in the radio, television and print news.

*Payne*) and the apposition (*the mother of murdered eight-year-old schoolgirl Sarah*), unlikely to appear in the discourse reflecting the perspective of the reported speaker.

Example 5, IS-q, is identical to example 4 in terms of the deictic properties and perspective but differs in the choice of the speech act verb (*disclosed*), which is, as discussed below, less neutral and expresses the reporting speaker's evaluation of the original speech event.

#### Example 5

<NRS>The Foreign Office disclosed <IS-q>that, in 2009-10, 339 officers received **“continuity of education allowance”** for 521 children- representing around 6% of staff.

(App. 2B, G3)

The syntactic and deictic subordination of the reported clause to the reporting clause has repercussions for the perspective from which the language or thought event is reported and thus for the overall function of ID. Quirk et al. (1985, 1025) mention different degrees of correspondence with which ID can report the original event. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 451-453) associate ID, based on hypotaxis, with representing meaning, whereas (F)DD, based on parataxis, is associated with wording (for criticism see McGregor 1997). Clark and Gerrig (1990) capture the difference between (F)DD and ID by the terms demonstration or depiction in the former case, and description in the latter.

Vološinov (1986, 128-130) notes that while (F)DD imitates the original speech situation and preserves its perspective, ID analyzes it, and regards analysis as “the heart and soul of indirect discourse”. ID presents content “with respect to current concerns and may have a variable degree of resemblance” to the supposed original, interprets it from the perspective of the current, reporting event and signals “reporter’s understanding of the original event” and the reason for reporting it (Lucy 1993, 18-19). In a similar vein, Waugh (1995, 159) adds that with ID the reporter can give a summarized and concise statement of the major or minor points, or put together ideas from different places in the text. Smirnova (2009, 99), discussing reported language in terms of its rhetorical effects, considers ID and other non-direct forms (“liberal structures” in her terminology) “more ‘obedient’ to the author”, enabling him to enforce his attitude. Although the above authors discuss forms of presentation from different theoretical angles and with different aims in mind, they bring together similar concepts and make associations between the formal and deictic properties of ID, the perspective of the reporting and reported speaker and rhetorical function.

The role of the reporting speaker is even more notable and prominent in the next form on the scale, reporter's representation of discourse act (NRDA) and its three types: narrator's representation of speech act (NRSA), narrator's representation of writing act (NRWA) and narrator's representation of thought act (NRTA). In terms of faithfulness claims, NRDA renders faithfully only the speech act value and does not claim any responsibility for either propositional content or words and structures used (Semino et al. 1997, 23). NRDA is more indirect than ID and may involve greater degree of analysis and interpretation on the part of the reporting speaker. Example 6 illustrates narrator's representation of speech act (NRSA).

#### Example 6

<NRS>A 14-YEAR-OLD Dutch girl has been given legal permission<IS> to set sail on a record-breaking solo voyage around the world <N>after<NRSAp> judges dismissed <NRSA> *objections from social workers*. (App. 2A, DT22)

In example 6 the first form is indirect speech (IS), the reporting signal is realized by a nominalization (*permission*) and the content, in contrast to examples 4 and 5 above, in the form of a non-finite reporting clause (*to set sail on a record-breaking...*). The narrator's representation of speech act (NRSA, italicised) summarizes and interprets the original speech event(s) by the social workers as *objections* without indicating what the objections were. Although nouns can be employed as reporting signals in any form of presentation, their potential to label in various ways a language or thought event, as well as portions of preceding or following text, and present them as facts makes them apt and convenient means of summarization, generalization and encapsulation, typical of non-direct forms and especially NRDA (see e.g. Francis 1994, Downing 2000).

In line with the clinal nature of reported language, Semino et al. (1997, 30) and Semino and Short (2004, 52-53) recognize a variant of NRDA, the so-called narrator's representation of discourse act with topic. In contrast to ID, the topic in NRDA, abbreviated by a *-p* tag and appended to NRSA, NRWA or NRTA, is realized not by a finite or non-finite reporting clause but by a phrase, most commonly a noun phrase or prepositional phrase. Consequently, in NRDAp, there is no separate reporting-reported clause structure.<sup>27</sup> For

<sup>27</sup> There are a number of differences in the way NRDA(p) is treated in Semino and Short (2004, 52-53) and in the earlier works, e.g. Leech and Short (1981), where the category was proposed, and Semino et al. (1997), where it was further elaborated. First, in Leech and Short (1981, 323-324) the term used is the narrative report of speech act and there is no mention of the sub-categories with and without topic. Still, however, in the examples given the topic is reported, and more importantly, it has the form of a non-finite clause, a form that would be analysed as unambiguous ID in Semino and Short (2004). In Semino et al. (1997, 30), the term used is already



instance, in example 6 the form *judges dismissed objections from social workers*, the NRSAp specifies the reported speaker and the speech act (*judges dismissed*) but the topic of the dismissal is formally realized by the noun phrase *objections from social workers*, itself an instance of NRSA. The relation between NRSAp and NRSA is referred to as discursal embedding and will be discussed below.

Example 7 illustrates NRDAp-q, which is like FID-q and ID-q of greater interest to the present work than its purely non-direct analogue.

#### Example 7

<NRTAp-qi>Boys are often seen as “**funny**” and “**cheeky**”<N> when they step out of line, while <NRSAp-q>girls are labelled as “**strop**py” and “**serious**”. (App. 2A, DT44)

Example 7 shows a narrator’s representation of thought act with topic combined with a partial quote (NRTAp-qi). The content, namely mothers’ attitude towards their misbehaving sons, is reported in the form of a phrase (*as ‘funny’ and ‘cheeky’*), with the key points quoted directly. Since it is construed as thought which is not a self-report and to which the journalist cannot have direct access, it is labelled as inferred (-i). NRTAp-qi is contrasted with mothers’ attitude towards their daughters, reported in the form of a partially quoted narrator’s representation of speech act with topic (NRSAp-q). As in the previous form, the topic is realized by a phrase and the key concepts are emphasised by means of a direct quote (*as “strop*py” and “*serious*”). Even though the choice to report an event as language or thought is often functionally motivated, example 7 seems to suggest that sometimes the difference between speech (or writing) and thought may be less marked. Although one form reports thought and the other speech, in this particular context they seem to be functionally nearly equivalent and probably could be interchanged without a significant change in effect.

In example 8, the prepositional phrase realizing the topic in NRSAp embeds a non-finite clause (*of promoting the export of terrorism*), which makes it closer to ID.

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identical to Semino and Short (2004) and the variants with and without topic are already recognised; the topic is, however, not abbreviated by *-p* but by the capital *T*, as in NRSAT. The *-p* tag appears in Short et al. (1998, 44-45). Moreover, Semino et al. (1997, 34-35) play with the idea to consider NRDAp with extensive noun phrases ambiguous with ID, and refer to these forms as ID “without formal subordination of the reporting clause”, an ambiguity which is “disguised by coding”. This development reflects the clinal nature of reported language and, despite clear formal delimitation, the pragmatic affinities and fuzzy functional boundaries between the categories positioned adjacently on the scale. The present analysis adopts the approach in Semino and Short (2004).

### Example 8

<NV>A furious diplomatic row erupted between London and Islamabad last night <N> after <NRSAp> David Cameron accused elements of the Pakistani state of promoting the export of terrorism. (App. 2B, G1)

Thus there is a continuum between NRDA without a topic (*objections* in example 6), NRDAp with the topic realized by a noun or prepositional phrase (*dismissed objections* in example 6, as “*stroppy*” and “*serious*” in 7), NRDAp with the topic realised by a phrase with an embedded non-finite clause (*accused of promoting...* in example 8), ID with a non-finite reported clause (*permission to set sail...* in example 6) and ID with a finite reported clause (examples 4 and 5). Waugh (1995, 160-161) refers to forms equivalent to NRDA(p) as “condensed” forms of indirect discourse; disregarding the cognitive point of view, NRDA(p) seems to overlap with van Dijk’s (1980, 184-195) macro-speech acts. The idea of condensation or macro-acts is indicative of the main function of NRDA(p), which is to “summarize less important information” functioning as a “background” (Semino and Short (2004, 52). However, with the notion of gradient in mind, the process of summarization and condensation must be viewed only as a tendency or a potential that results from the delimitation based on the formal realization of topic (phrasal as opposed to clausal), which may in actual instances materialize to different extent (see also note 27 above). As far as perspective is concerned, NRDA(p) is further removed from the perspective of the reported speaker and found closer to the perspective of the reporting speaker.

Located at the most non-direct end of the presentation scale is a minimal form of presentation, including narrator’s representation of voice (NV) on the speech scale, narrator’s representation of writing (NW) and internal narration (NI)<sup>28</sup> on the thought scale (Semino and Short 2004, 43-48). Considered with regard to faithfulness, minimal forms of presentation do not claim faithful rendition of any of the three aspects and present the language or thought event entirely from the perspective of the reporting speaker (Semino et al. 1997, 23). In

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<sup>28</sup> In the treatment of internal narration and indirect thought the present approach represents a deviation from Semino and Short (2004, 140) in that the latter make a distinction between beliefs and opinions which are “relatively permanent”, marking them as internal narration, and thoughts which are “specific... [and] occurred at a particular moment in time”, marking them as indirect thought. Consequently, forms of presentation with a verb of cognition and topic reported in the form of a subordinated reported clause could be marked as either NI or IT. Since the concept of permanency and generality of thought is considered to be particularly difficult to apply consistently, in the present analysis the distinction was discarded and primacy was given to formal criteria – any form of presentation reporting thought with the content in the form of a subordinated reported clause is regarded as IT. Although the approach favouring form to pragmatic nuances simplifies the process of coding, it may marginalize functional differences. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between formal and functional categorization is also found in the treatment of NRDAp and ID discussed above and due to scalarity of reported language probably pervades the whole classification.

example 8 above, narrator's representation of voice (NV), the original speech event was interpreted and reported as *a diplomatic row*, not offering any information about the individual speech acts and their content. The form offers a maximum degree of summarization and is reminiscent of e.g. Levinson's (1979) speech activity types, such as argument, discussion, conversation, interview, lecture etc.

Inferred internal narration (NI-i), a minimal form on the thought scale, is shown below, mediating merely the mental state and emotions (*shock and mourning*) without specifying particular thoughts.

#### Example 9

<NI-i>The quiet village of Viller-au-Tertre in north-eastern France was plunged into shock and mourning last night <N> after the bodies of eight newborn babies were found buried in the ground. (App. 2B, G4)

Although NV and NW are typically realized by nouns or verbs denoting speech or writing activity, and NI by nouns or adjectives denoting mental states, attitudes and feelings, there are no clearly stipulated criteria as to the form of realization, which seems related to the fact that minimal forms are defined solely in negative terms, i.e. by the absence of the three faithfulness claims (see also note 28 above). Also, since minimal forms of presentation cannot report topic, they cannot be combined with a partial direct quote and thus lie outside the scope of the present paper. Nevertheless, as they often accompany direct and combined forms of presentation, they will appear in a number of examples in later chapters. Moreover, it seems convenient to make at least a passing note of them since they complete the presentation scale, and with their maximum potential to summarize and minimum degree of directness represent the opposite to (F)DD, with the minimum potential to summarize and maximum degree of directness.

Although the forms discussed so far differ in faithfulness claims, deictic and syntactic properties, degree of directness, summarization, interpretation, and the extent to which they reflect the reporting or reported speaker's perspective and understanding of the event, they instantiate choices from the system of attribution, bring in the voice of others and constitute the source of heteroglossia in the text. They confine the reported content to the discourse world of the reported speaker and thus absolve, again to various degrees, the reporting speaker from responsibility. Also, by confining the reported content to the subjectivity of the

reported speaker, they present it as non-factual, recognize possible alternative positions and open space for dialogue and negotiation.

On the other hand, non-reported primary discourse, referred to here as narration (N) and shown in the examples above (especially 1, 7, 9), originates with the journalist and, as far as attribution is concerned, it brings no other voice into the text. Admittedly, to equal the absence of reporting with the absence of voice other than that of the journalist and hence with monoglossia is a gross oversimplification (see e.g. Martin and White 2005, 92-160). Nevertheless, in the aspect of attribution narration is by default 'more monoglossic' than a piece of discourse with an explicit presence of voice brought in by means of reported language.

As in the case of minimal forms of presentation, except for comparison with reported language narration is not the main area of interest, unless combined with a partial quote (N-q), shown in example 10. The three indicators of N-q are the absence of reporting signal, the presence of quotation marks and partiality of the quoted material. These differentiate it from other forms of reporting: the lack of the reporting signal differentiates it from DD, ID(-q) and NRDA(p,-q), whereas the incompleteness of quotation and quotation marks clearly setting apart the journalist's language and perspective from the language and perspective of the unspecified source differentiate it from FDD, FID(-q) and N.

#### Example 10

<N-q>BRITISH history will be placed at the heart of a back-to-basics national curriculum under coalition plans to free children from the "**prison house of ignorance**".

(App. 2A, DT28)

The partial direct quote brings in a new voice and perspective but it is grammatically and semantically embedded into the discourse (voice, perspective) of the journalist. In example 10 the recourse to direct quote may be motivated by the evaluative metaphorical nature of the phrase (*prison house of ignorance*) and the effort on the part of the journalist to distance himself from it by restricting its validity to the perspective of an unspecified but clearly differentiated other voice. The reasons and consequences of partial quotation will be discussed below.

Now a few comments will be made on scalarity, perspective and control of the reporting and reported speaker. As has been already mentioned, Leech and Short (1981), Semino et al. (1997) and Semino and Short (2004) envisage reported language as a scale. As



So far the connection between responsibility, control and directness has been drawn mainly on the basis of the grammatical and deictic properties of the reported element. Now a few comments will be made on the way the presence of the reporting speaker is manifested in the choice of the reporting signal and the words chosen for partial quotation. Looking at the examples above, the language and thought events have been reported by relatively neutral verbs, such as *say* or *read* (DW and DS in examples 1 and 2, IS-q and IS in 4) or by the verb indicating organization of discourse, such as *add* in the DS in example 3. However, other reporting signals betray the reporting speaker's interpretation, categorization or evaluation of different aspects of the reported situation, such as *disclose* (IS-q in example 5), *permission*, *dismiss* and *objection* (IS, NRSAp and NRSA in example 6) or *accuse* (NRSAp in example 8). For instance, the act of *accusation* suggests that the accused has committed something negative; *dismissal* indicates unimportance or irrelevance; *objection* indicates opposition, especially based on principles considered reasonable or well-founded (Wierzbicka 1987, 165, 109, 245). The verb *to disclose* presupposes the truth as "one cannot 'disclose' what is false" (Floyd 2000, 46). Reporting verbs can lend (or undermine) credibility to the reports and the reported speakers; in 5 the favourable verb *to disclose* is in harmony with the expression referring to the source of attribution, *the Foreign Office*, an organization of prestige and authority.<sup>29</sup>

The occurrence of a partial direct quote within the confines of a non-direct report, shown in examples 3 (FIS-q), 4 and 5 (IS-q), and 7 (NRTAp-q and NRSAp-q), is referred to by various terms, including quotation phenomenon (Semino et al. 1997, 31; Semino and Short 2004, 54-55), combined direct-indirect speech (Waugh 1995, 146), incorporated quotations (Clark and Gerrig 1990, 789), partial quotes (Thompson 1996, 513), or literal indirect or segmented quotations (Smirnova 2009, 83). They all emphasize the aspects of combination of direct and non-direct forms of presentation, and incompleteness of the direct quote, which are of vital importance to the function of partial quotes.

The reasons for giving preference to a partial direct quote over a fully (non-)direct form of report may be numerous. In comparison to the rest of the non-direct form the partially quoted part may be perceived as receiving more emphasis. The emphasized words may be the key words or concepts conveying the message, also possibly chosen to contrast (*funny and*

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<sup>29</sup> These evaluations are more indirect or "invoked" and only "imply" attitude to or dis/approval of the action or the actor (Bednarek, 2009, 117-118). Hunston (1995), Lemke (1988) and Bednarek (2009) show the interaction between the reporting element, the reported element and context; Gruber (1993) searches for a correlation between directness of evaluation, object of evaluation and the allocation of responsibility. Thompson (1994, 138-144) pays attention to the ways reporting verbs can be used to express one's opinion. More examples of evaluation will be provided in chapter 6.4.

*cheeky, stropic and serious* in example 7). Simultaneously, they may be the main source of evaluation (*funny and cheeky, stropic and serious* in example 7, *nonsense* in 3, *disgusted* in 4). The need to dissociate oneself from evaluative items is in correspondence with the impersonal tone of reporter voice. Or, apart from being evaluative, the partial quote may also be motivated by form, e.g. the metaphorical expression in 10 (*prison house of ignorance*). The word(s) in quotation marks may belong to a different register, as is the language of officialise in example 5 (*continuity of education allowance*). Combined forms single out a word or words which are considered particularly significant and noteworthy because they are “apt, shocking, controversial or revealing” (Semino and Short 2004, 154). In all these cases the partial quote enables the reporter to “foreground selected parts of the original utterance without having to provide a lengthy quotation. They achieve vividness without sacrificing the need for brevity” (Semino et al. 1997, 31).

Partial quotes offer advantages associated with (F)DD. In partial quotes, as opposed to e.g. FID, the direct and non-direct/narrative sections are clearly separated by quotation marks. Consequently, irrespective of the reporting speaker’s perspective, responsibility and interpretation present in the non-direct/narrative part, the words in quotation marks are at least superficially marked as lying outside the reporting speaker’s perspective and control, their validity being confined to the perspective, vision, understanding and/or discourse world of the reported speaker. The quoted section corroborates the journalist’s words and enables him to distance himself from the words quoted (Thompson 1996; Semino and Short 2004, 154).

However, the advantage of vividness and brevity may come at the expense of the loss of clarity and objectivity resulting from the mingling of voices and perspectives. Despite the formal separation of perspectives by quotation marks, the reporting speaker’s words are incorporated, both grammatically and semantically, into the reporter’s own discourse, and are thus liable to slanted presentation (Semino et al. 1997, 31). This mingling of voices is also connected to the extent of the partially quoted words, which may range from a one-word quote (examples 3, 4 and 7) to more extensive quotes, covering most of the reported element (see e.g. App. 2A, DT1 NRSAp-q in S7 or App. 2B, G3 IS-q in S5).

### **5.5.3 Embedded forms of presentation**

This chapter introduces the phenomenon of discursal embedding. The essence of reported language is to “communicate about the activity of using language” – one of the reflexive uses of language (Lucy 1993, 9). Moreover, reported forms themselves may be a

source of reflexivity in that they may refer to a different language or thought event, creating a complex, recursive reporting pattern similar to *He said that she said that they said* etc. In such cases, one form of reported language is contained within or “discoursally embedded” in another; more specifically, a reported (and simultaneously reporting) speaker “is presented as reporting words or thoughts produced by others (or by themselves) in a separate speech, thought or writing event” (Semino and Short 2004, 34). Zelizer’s (1989) term “nesting” also adequately captures the essence of the structure. Although the phenomenon of embedding is relatively frequent, it mainly concerns non-direct forms; this chapter does not aim at a thorough and systematic examination but only a brief illustration of the phenomenon (for more detail see Urbanová 2012a, 2012b). More examples will be provided and explained in later chapters.

Embedding is abbreviated to the letter *e* and the accompanying number indicates the level of embedding: e1 corresponds to the level one of embedding, e2 to the level two of embedding and e3 to the level three of embedding; non-embedded forms receive no special marking. For the sake of clarity, the forms at e1 are also marked in italics and the forms at e2 and e3 levels are underlined. Bold marking signals (partial) direct quote.

#### Example 11

<NRS>She said: <DS>“<e1NRS>***I asked*** <e1IS>***what would happen if you hit the water from that height and*** <e1NRS>***he said,*** <e1DS>***‘You wouldn’t survive it, anyway.’*** <e1NRS>***I said*** <e1DS>***‘Thanks for <e2NRSA>reassuring me, Dad!***’ <e1NRT>***I never imagined*** <e1IT>***it would happen.***” (App. 2C, I7)

Example 11 is an excerpt from a report describing a fatal parasailing accident in which a father and daughter were involved; it describes a conversation between them immediately before the accident occurred. It is an instance of direct speech (DS) with a typical structure consisting of a reporting clause (*She said*) and a reported clause enclosed in quotation marks, marked in bold (“*I asked..., Dad!...*”). Since it is not contained within any other form of reported language, it is non-embedded. However, the direct reported clause embeds four other forms of presentation embedded at level one: indirect speech (e1IS, *I asked what....height.*), two instances of direct speech (e1DS, *he said, ‘You wouldn’t survive it anyway’* and *I said ‘Thanks for reassuring me, Dad!’*) and indirect thought (e1IT, *I never imagined it would happen*). Moreover, the e1DS contains a non-direct form of reporting embedded at level two, a narrator’s representation of speech act without a topic (e2NRSA, *reassuring me*). The



embedded direct forms create a short dialogue reminiscent of speech reports in fiction. By being direct in form, the embedded reports demonstrate or re-enact the conversation and their presence makes an impression of authenticity and vividness; they allow the reader to witness or experience the event more directly, offering a kind of “narrative bait” (van Leeuwen 1987, 206). Such forms of reported language are likely to appear in newspaper reports only when embedded in other forms. Let us consider the following example.

#### Example 12

<NRS>One backbencher urged the Home Secretary<IS><e1NRT>*to remember*<e1IT-h>  
*what Margaret Thatcher did when faced with unpalatable European laws* and <e1NRSAp-h>  
*repeat* <e2NRSAp-q>*her response to Brussels of “no, no, no”*. (App. 2A, DT8)

Example 12 contains an embedded partial quote: the non-embedded indirect speech (IS) contains an embedded indirect thought (e1IT-h) and an embedded narrator’s representation of speech act with topic (e1NRSAp-h); furthermore, the latter form embeds another narrator’s representation of speech act with topic, this time combined with a partial quote, which raises the level of embedding to two (e2NRSAp-q, underlined). Notice that there are two forms accompanied by a –h tag, signalling their *hypothetical* status: e1IT-h (*to remember what Margaret ...*) and e1NRSAp-h (*to repeat her response to...*). Hypothetical reported language and thought present reported events as something non-actual, e.g. “future, possible, imaginary or counter-factual” (Semino et al. 1999, 308).<sup>30</sup> The forms in example 12 are marked as hypothetical since both the act of remembering and repeating exist only within the modality of the host indirect speech as acts which are considered desirable to occur, and exemplify an instance of Ryan’s (1991, 116-117) Obligation World. In accordance with reporter voice, in hard news the journalist is unlikely to be the source of deontic modality and proposals are normally extra-vocalised and the verbal/mental actions required are embedded. Embedded hypothetical forms enable the reporter to bring in the non-actual into the story without assuming responsibility for the ‘reported’ content. Together with hypothetical narrative discourse they make hard news a mixture of the actual world and some possible world(s), which complement or interact with each other, and show how news reports create and recreate social, cultural, political and economic reality by making predictions and speculations about future events (Gamson et al. 1992, Neiger 2006, Jaworski et al. 2003).

<sup>30</sup> The existence of hypothetical forms is one of the arguments against defining forms of presentation in terms of faithful reproduction (e.g. Sternberg 1982; Short 1988; Clark and Gerrig 1990; Slembrouck 1992; Myers 1999; Tannen 2007; Vandelanotte 2009).

Structures with discursial embedding can evince considerable complexity. Discursial embedding may be accompanied by grammatical embedding, switches in the deictic centre, an extra set of quotation marks, the presence of different speakers and thus different perspectives, and the combination of these. All these aspects make the whole structure more complex and cumbersome (Semino and Short 2004, 175-182). Naturally, the grammatical and deictic peculiarities of (F)DD and combined forms as well as the purpose of use make them convenient for embedding to different degrees.

#### 5.5.4 The frequency of occurrence of direct and combined forms of presentation

This chapter offers a few comments on the frequency of occurrence of pure direct and combined forms of presentation. Table 3 summarizes the results from two points of view. Vertically, it distinguishes between speech, writing, thought and narration. Horizontally, it makes a distinction among the types of reported language, including free direct (FDD) and direct (DD) discourse, free indirect (FID-q) and indirect (ID-q) forms combined with a partial quote, narrator's representation of discourse act with a partially quoted topic (NRDAp-q) and finally narration combined with a partial quote (N-q).

	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	Total
Speech	177	440	10	181	72		880/85.7%
Writing	11	36	1	21	16		85/8.3%
Thought	0	6	0	9	7		22/2.1%
Narration						40	40/3.9%
Total	188	482	11	211	95	40	1027/100%
Total %	18.3	46.9	1.1	20.5	9.3	3.9	100

Table 3: Direct Forms of Presentation

The data show a clear predominance of speech forms (880) over writing (85), thought (22) and narration (40).<sup>31</sup> Except the possibility that extra-linguistic speech events get represented more often than extra-linguistic writing or thought events, the much higher frequency of speech can be attributed to other factors, including the requirement of a clear signal in the text to postulate writing or thought, and varying compatibility of language and thought reports with directness of presentation. Disregarding genre, Leech and Short (1981,

<sup>31</sup>In their corpus of serious press Semino and Short (2004) report similar relative proportions of speech, writing and thought forms of presentation.

345) set the norm for speech presentation to be DS because it reports speech in the mode which is “directly manifest to the listener”; on the other hand, the norm for thought presentation is purported to be IT because thoughts are not verbalized and hence cannot be reported verbatim. Similarly, although Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, especially 451-453) acknowledge other modes of projection for speech and thought, they seem to associate direct reports with speech projection and indirect reports with thought projection.

Although writing is in many aspects closer to speech than to thought, the frequency of (F)DW and combined writing forms is still low. It squares with the results obtained by Semino and Short (2004, 98-113), in whose broadsheet sub-corpus both direct and non-direct forms on the writing scale are much less frequent than their spoken counterparts, and as opposed to its spoken analogue, the most frequent form on the writing scale in the whole corpus and in its press section is NRWA(p). Semino and Short (2004, 100, 112-113) maintain that although (F)DS is associated with dramatization and vividness, it is not burdened by higher expectations of faithfulness as (F)DW. McIntyre et al. (2004, 69) suggest that for the writing scale the norm should be NRWA(p). Even though in the present corpus only combined NRWAp-q can be considered and it is not the most frequent form on the writing scale (16 out of 85, 18.8%), its relative occurrence is higher than that of NRSAp-q (72 out of 880, 8.2%) on the speech scale. Furthermore, due to the requirement of a clear indication of writing, the real amount of reported written language may have been skewed in favour of speech.

As Table 3 shows, DD is the most frequently occurring form (482), followed by ID-q with 211 occurrences, FDD<sup>32</sup> with 188 occurrences, NRDAp-q with 95 occurrences; the two least frequently occurring forms are N-q, which appeared in 40 cases, and finally FID-q with only 11 occurrences. The high frequency of (F)DD (670)<sup>33</sup> can be attributed to its deictic properties. As (F)DD is presented entirely from the perspective of the reported speaker without much interference on the part of the journalist, it is an ideal form of reporting serving

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<sup>32</sup> The ratio of DD (299) and FDD (28) in Semino and Short’s (2004) broadsheet corpus is much less balanced in favour of DD, which can be attributed to different coding conventions regarding FDD in their and the present approach (Semino and Short 2004, 196, 94-95; see also the discussion in chapter 5.5.2). In their categorization FDD is warranted by the total absence of a speech expression before or after FDD or a new set of quotation marks enclosing FDD found across a paragraph boundary. Consequently, many instances classified as FDD in the present corpus would fall into their category of DD.

<sup>33</sup> In Semino and Short’s (2004, 67, 100, 115, 156) serious press sub-corpus (F)DD is of lower frequency than the total of non-direct and combined forms. As the category of (F)DD is also in their corpus mainly composed of (F)DS, the results go against the claim that (F)DS is the norm for reporting speech (Leech and Short 1981, 334, 344-345). Bell (1991, 208) considers direct quotes less frequent than indirect reports in broadsheets, but, as also questioned by Semino and Short (2004, 89-90), the data do not corroborate his claim that (F)DD is to be viewed as an “exception”. Furthermore, unlike in other discourse types Waugh (1995, 149) considers indirect speech to be the unmarked choice of reported speech in journalism.

the purposes of objectivity, impersonal treatment, persuasiveness, prestige, reliability, solidarity with different voices, individualization, dramatization and vividness (van Dijk 1988, Bell 1991, Waugh 1995, White 1998, Semino and Short 2004).

FID-q is with its 11 occurrences the least frequently occurring form of presentation,<sup>34</sup> which could be attributed to its duality and incompatibility with the genre of hard news. From the study by Sanders and Redeker (1993) follows that the strategy of focalization achieved by FID greatly contributes to subjectivity, liveliness and suspense in a text and is judged atypical of newspaper reports. Lucy (1993, 20, *italics original*), drawing on Banfield (1982), notes that FID represents the reported speaker's perspective but "without indexing him as an *I* speaking at a definable present moment", which means that the perspective is accessed "without employing the usual indexical signs indicating that he has communicated them". This form of presentation may be appropriate and effective in genres with an omniscient narrator but apparently less so in the genre of hard news. Furthermore, in FID-q the blend of perspectives is combined with a switch to purely reported speaker's perspective. Interestingly, Redeker (1996, 222, 231) views duality and mingling of voices in FID(-q) as an advantage even for the context of newspaper reports since FID-q combines the subjectivity of the reported speaker with the possibility to make formal changes to the utterance. However, it must be said that her view of FID occurring in newspapers is broader and includes cases treated here as ambiguous with ID.

Other combined forms are much more numerous than FID-q.<sup>35</sup> The function of ID-q and NRDAp-q follows from their formal properties: the reported content is summarized in the reported clause in ID-q or a phrase in NRDAp-q while simultaneously the reporter highlights a selected piece of utterance (Semino and Short 2004, 154). The extent of the quoted discourse may range from one to a number of words, but according to Semino and Short (2004, 157), partial quotes in newspaper reports are as well as being more frequent also longer than in, for example, fiction. The more extensive quotes point to the need to talk about a potential to summarize which may but need not be exploited. This is especially true in the case of NRDAp-q since the topic realized by a phrase may within itself contain other

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<sup>34</sup> In Semino and Short (2004, 83, 156) FID-q was also identified as the least frequently occurring combined form, supporting their criticism of Fludernik's (1993, 291) claim of FID together with ID being more widely used than DD in journalistic discourse.

<sup>35</sup> In Semino and Short (2004, 67, 100, 115, 156), the frequency of non-ambiguous combined speech/writing forms and narration (155) is also lower than the frequency of (F)DS and (F)DW (325). The ratio is thus comparable to the present results, i.e. 670 of (F)DD and 357 of combined forms. Precise numbers of (F)DT and combined forms reporting thought are not given in Semino and Short due to their marginal occurrence but as they are low in both corpora, this should not affect the comparison. Also, in Semino and Short (2004, 156) the distribution of the quotation phenomenon proved more significant in the press section than in the fiction and autobiography sections.

embedded phrases or clauses (Semino and Short 2004, 76-77). The idea of potential and possible functional alternation of NRDAp-q and ID-q is in accordance with their adjacent position on the scale and the scalar nature of reported forms in general.

The last combined form to be commented on is N-q (40).<sup>36</sup> The absence of the reporting signal makes it problematic to relate the quoted material to the deictic centre and perspective of a specific individual and present him as responsible for the partial quote. Even though any form of presentation is, irrespective of the degree of its deictic autonomy, ultimately subject to the communicative goal of the text (Sternberg 1982, 110-111), the quoted material in N-q is entirely subordinated to, though not equalled with, the perspective of the surrounding text. Thus although the perspectives of the journalist and the unspecified source are separated by the presence of quotation marks and it may be possible to infer the source of the quote from the context, the latter's perspective may be overridden by the journalist's perspective. On the other hand, N-q has the advantage of brevity, appeal and emphasis on the selected point of social disequilibrium, which may be valuable e.g. in newspaper Headlines (e.g. Reah 1998).

A few notes need to be made on the level of embedding, not distinguished in Table 3. The frequency of occurrence of embedded forms decreases in inverse proportion to the level of embedding: 965 direct forms were found non-embedded, 55 instances were embedded at level one, 6 instances at level two and only 1 case at level three. There are 2 cases of FDD, 22 cases of DD, 22 of ID-q, 16 of NRDAp-q and no occurrence of FID-q.<sup>37</sup> N-q by its nature cannot appear embedded. Also, there is a marked difference in the employment of thought forms in comparison to speech and writing forms. Whereas the latter appear more frequently non-embedded, there are solely 2 non-embedded thought reports in comparison to 18 instances at e1, and 1 instance at e2 and e3.

Apart from the grammatical and pragmatic complexity mentioned in chapter 5.5.3 the low frequency of direct embedded forms (except thought) can be attributed to their function in newspaper reports: they imbue discourse with persuasiveness, evidentiality, reliability and credibility (Waugh 1995, 132-134), which may be assumed to be achieved more successfully via non-embedded forms than embedded ones since discursual embedding involves two or more stages in reporting and thus a possible decrease in reliability. On the other hand, forms

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<sup>36</sup> The frequency of N-q in Semino and Short (2004, 156) also places it between ID-q/NRDAp-q and FID-q.

<sup>37</sup> The ratio of embedded (F)DD and combined forms in Semino and Short (2004, 175-182) is difficult to compare since in their presentation they do not combine the aspect of embedding with the aspect of partial quotation. Moreover, for the writing scale tabloid and broadsheet press are not distinguished. It can only be stated that in both sensational and quality press they attested altogether 323 instances of direct, non-direct and combined embedded forms out of which 40 were (F)DD.

involving direct presentation of thought are almost exclusively found in the context of embedding, which is attributable to the nature of thought presentation and the discourse of newspaper reporting.

The above section highlighted the predominating occurrence of speech over writing and thought reports, and (F)DD over combined forms. (F)DD and combined forms serve different purposes: (F)DD is reported entirely from the deictic and subjective perspective of the reported speaker, whereas in combined forms the quoted material is grammatically and semantically incorporated into the journalist's discourse and perspective. Consequently, the former may be preferred in cases where the reporter wants to achieve maxim degree of dissociation, whereas the latter may be preferred where a degree of interpretation is desirable. Also, partial quotes combine the advantages of direct quoting with brevity and special emphasis placed on the quoted material. This may also raise the expectations as to the faithfulness of the words in quotation marks (Semino and Short 2004, 159). (F)DD and combined forms appear predominantly non-embedded, presumably due to functional reasons and the overall complexity of embedding structures. The following section will briefly discuss some of the basic types of ambiguities.

#### **5.5.5 Direct forms of presentation – ambiguities**

The aim of this chapter is to briefly outline the ambiguities concerning direct forms of presentation. In contrast to 1027 unambiguous pure direct and combined forms, the analysis generated 90 ambiguous forms. Out of the 90 portmanteau forms, 78 involve indeterminacy between two forms of presentation, 11 between three forms and there was also 1 ambiguity with four possible interpretations. In the categories where more than two possible interpretations suggest themselves, the forms are often ambiguous in more than one aspect. The ambiguities arise as a result of a number of factors, including the coding conventions, contextual factors or the lack of clear signals pointing to a single interpretation; not infrequently the ambiguity is a reflection of the characteristics of the genre of hard news in general or features peculiar to particular sections of the generic structure.

Although Short et al. (1998, 53-54) suggest that some ambiguities could be resolved by cross-referencing, for example by comparing forms of reported language appearing in parallel news reports published in different newspapers, this option was not availed of. Similarly, no comparison was made between the forms postulated as ambiguous in the nucleus and forms found in the body of the text. The reason is that although the information

gained by cross-referencing may be valuable, it does not reflect the way news reports are read and interpreted. Moreover, some ambiguities, especially those found in the Headline, seem intentional and thus in line with its function. As three-member ambiguities and the one four-member ambiguity basically combine the ambiguity types found in the two-member categories, attention will be paid to two-member ambiguities only, summarized in Table 4. Ambiguity is symbolized by a double forward slash.

Two-member ambiguities	
FID-q//ID-q	23
FDD/FID	2
-q//sq	35
Direct form//N-sq	3
Direct form//N-q	4
Direct form//N	3
Combined form//analogous non-direct	3
Level of embedding	1
Speech //writing	4
Total	78

Table 4: Ambiguous direct forms: Two-member categories

The most frequent kind of ambiguity (35) involving double interpretation is the indeterminacy between quote proper (-q) and scare quote (-sq), evincing uncertainty as to the perspective and voice. The indeterminacy between FID-q and ID-q (23), and the indeterminacy between FDD and FID (2) result from the coding conventions, the lack of clear signals or the presence of conflicting signals preventing unequivocal interpretation, and often reflect the informative function of hard news. Furthermore, there is a group of ambiguities involving any direct form and pure narration (3), narration with scare quotes (3) and narration with a partial quote (4). Three cases of combined forms were found ambiguous with their non-direct analogues – an ambiguity which is often generated by the presence of other ambiguities; 1 ambiguous form concerned the level of embedding and 3 cases were ambiguous between speech and writing forms of presentation.

Interestingly, the ambiguity types which are comparatively frequent are those showing a close connection to the genre of hard news: for the ambiguity between quoting and scare quoting (-q//sq) see e.g. App. 2D, T4 S3 or the Headlines in App. 2A, DT47; App. 2B, G2, G17, G27; App. 2D, T7, T16, T19 or T41. For the ambiguity between FID-q and ID-q see e.g. App. 2D, T8 S4; for the ambiguity between FID-q and N-q see e.g. App. 2D, T27 S4; for the

ambiguity between speech and writing see e.g. App. 2A, DT12. Ambiguities that seem especially related to the generic structure, mostly the Headline and Lead, are discussed in chapter 6.2 and 6.3 respectively.



## 6. Direct forms of presentation in the generic structure of hard news

The chapter discusses the frequency and role of direct and combined forms of presentation in the nucleus and all distinguished satellite types. The potential to evoke voice and perspective of either the reporting or reported speaker is seen against the generic goal of each part of the orbital structure. Even though narration and non-direct forms do not lie in the focus of attention, a few comments will be made on their role in the generic structure too, mainly in contradistinction to direct forms. The potential of forms of presentation to contribute to the generic functionality of the nuclear and satellite sections will be discussed against the concepts of reporter voice and dialogic positioning. Also, in the case of Elaboration satellites, narration, non-direct forms and direct/combined forms will be examined in connection with their occurrence in satellite strings and the operation of the orbital, periodic and prosodic patterns.

### 6.1 An overview

This section examines the frequency of the individual elements of the generic structure and interprets it in connection with the aim of hard news. Table 5 shows the so-called rhetorical repertoire, i.e. the prevailing relational meanings expressed in a genre (Gruber and Muntigl 2005, 87; Mann and Thompson 1988, 250). Also, a preliminary investigation of the role of reported language in the Headline, Lead and satellite types is provided.

Non-compound satellites + sub-satellites: excluding ambiguities					Total
Satellites	% of total	Direct + (N)+(A)	Direct+non-D + (N)+(A)	(N)+(non-D) + (A)	
Elaboration	34.9	93/15.8%	194/33%	<b>301/51.2%</b>	588/100%
Contextualization	22.0	33/8.9%	88/23.8%	<b>249/67.3%</b>	370/100%
Headline	14.0	55/23.4%	16/6.8%	<b>164/69.8%</b>	235/100%
Lead	10.4	17/9.7%	18/10.3%	<b>140/80%</b>	175/100%
Appraisal	8.8	<b>65/43.9%</b>	61/41.2%	22/14.9%	148/100%
Consequence	5.0	14/16.7%	26/30.9%	<b>44/52.4%</b>	84/100%
Counter-Justification	2.0	7/21.2%	11/33.3%	<b>15/45.5%</b>	33/100%
Justification	1.3	8/34.8%	4/17.4%	<b>11/47.8%</b>	23/100%
Concession	1.0	1/5.9%	6/35.3%	<b>10/58.8%</b>	17/100%
Balance	0.3	0/0%	2/33.3%	<b>4/66.7%</b>	6/100%
Wrap-up	0.3	0/0%	0/0%	<b>5/100%</b>	5/100%
Total	100.0	293	426	965	1684

Table 5: Distribution of reported language and narration in the generic structure

The frequency of occurrence of Headlines, Leads and all satellite types are listed in the first column of Table 5. As shown in the second column, there are significant differences in the frequency of occurrence of each functional element, ranging from 34.9% of Elaboration to marginal satellite types, such as Concession (1.0%), Wrap-up (0.3%) or Balance (0.3%). Compound and ambiguous satellites were briefly discussed in chapters 4.5.4 and 4.5.5 and will not be considered here.

The nucleus and satellites are also examined in terms of the distribution of direct (including combined forms) and non-direct (abbreviated to *non-D*) forms of presentation, including narration (abbreviated to *N*). The third column lists generic units containing only direct form(s) of presentation (and possibly narration), the fourth column lists those based on the combination of direct and non-direct forms of presentation (and possibly narration), and the fifth column includes units built on narration and/or non-direct forms of reported language to the exclusion of direct forms. The motivation behind treating direct forms appearing with and without non-direct forms separately is that, though not all, some units in the generic structure seem to favour one or the other option, mainly in dependence on their function. This may be attributed to the fact that non-direct forms are more summarizing and interpretative and involve greater interference of the reporting speaker.

The rhetorical unity of direct and non-direct forms of presentation is taken into consideration e.g. by Smirnova (2009), who distinguishes so-called combined forms, i.e. sequences of complete, clearly separated non-direct and direct forms, which are bound by fulfilling a common rhetorical goal.<sup>38</sup> Although in the present treatment no systematic account of the interaction between direct and non-direct forms will be offered, the distinction between elements of the generic structure based solely on direct forms and direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms seems substantiated and will be demonstrated on selected examples. Moreover, only non-embedded non-direct forms are taken into account since, as shown in the relevant chapters, direct and embedded non-direct forms interact in a different way.

Even though the presence or absence of narration is of significance, in contrast to forms of presentation, it was largely overlooked. Narration may amount to a conjunction joining two forms of presentation or a comparatively larger stretch of discourse, showing different degrees of the reporter's presence and intervention and hence also different role and impact. However, as narration lies outside the focus of the paper and for ease of presentation

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<sup>38</sup> The category of combined forms in Smirnova's classification is different from the way the term *combined* is employed in the present analysis; whereas her combination of forms involves a sequence of two formally separate forms, here combined forms involve non-direct forms which integrate into themselves a partial, incomplete direct quote.

no distinction was made as to the extent or type of narrative discourse, and narration was coupled with any of the three groups according to the presence or absence of direct and non-direct forms. Although only non-ambiguous nuclei and satellites are included in Table 5, at this stage no distinction is made as regards possible ambiguity (A) of reported language. The numbers and percentage refer not to the occurrence of forms of presentation but to the number of satellites, Headlines and Leads containing the suggested combinations of direct and non-direct forms. The units in the generic structure are listed according to their frequency of occurrence; the combination with the highest frequency is marked in bold.

The elements of the nucleus, i.e. the Headline and the Lead, will be dealt with first. Comparing the number of news reports (175) and the number of Headlines (235, 14%), the latter exceeds the former due to the occurrence of double- or triple-decked Headlines.<sup>39</sup> The number of Leads corresponds to the number of news reports and the percentage is dependent on the frequency of occurrence of other elements (175, 10.4%). In both the Headline (69.8%) and the Lead (80%) non-direct forms of presentation and/or narration predominate, which could be explained by the role of the nucleus in highlighting and summarizing the point of contention. Narration and/or non-direct forms allow the reporter, or sub-editor in the case of Headlines, more freedom to select, combine and effectively formulate ideas, and meet the requirements of economy, high information content and condensation of information, achieved primarily by complex sentence and clause structure, nominalizations, heavy modification of nouns or ellipsis of function words (e.g. Bell 1991, 183; van Dijk 1988, 77-80; Fink 1997, 112-114; Downing 2000; Reah 1998, 19-21). Naturally, these space-saving means are more compatible with narration and non-direct forms. It is notable that only Wrap-up has a higher incidence of cases with total absence of direct forms.

Headlines (23.4%) rather than Leads (9.7%) tend to rely exclusively on direct forms of presentation, which may be attributable to their second function of attracting the reader to the story, achievable more effectively by direct forms. On the other hand, direct forms in Leads (10.3%) rather than Headlines (6.8%) tend to be accompanied by non-direct forms, which leads back to greater space constraints on the Headline and its attention-seeking role in comparison to the multiplicity of events described in the Lead.

As for the body of the text, the most frequently occurring satellite type is Elaboration (588, 34.9%). Elaboration constitutes the essence of the hard news story rhetoric based on the

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<sup>39</sup> Schneider (2000, 53-55) has shown a gradual tendency in the increase of headline length, which corresponds to a decrease in the number of decks per a news report, resulting in greater compactness and condensation of information content in one headline. She explains this change by the growing importance of a functionally equivalent Lead and, drawing on Ungerer (2000), a selective approach to story coverage and the tendency to split an event into more reports focusing on its different aspects.

repetition, specification and exemplification of the key issues from the nucleus (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1998). Elaboration shows roughly equal occurrence of cases with presence and absence (51.2%) of direct forms. The occurrence of direct forms with (33%) or without (15.8%) non-direct forms may be motivated by their potential to connote credibility and reliability and accent the social significance of the event they describe. There may be a number of reasons for the presence of non-direct forms, ranging from a more extensive treatment benefiting from summarizing forms to the creation of patterns based on the rhetorical interaction between various forms of reported language, discussed in 6.5.2 – 6.5.5.

The second most frequently occurring satellite type is Contextualization (370, 22%), providing spatial or social context, previous, subsequent or simultaneously occurring verbal or non-verbal events as well as a comparison to similar events (White 1998). Such high occurrence may be a reflection of the shift towards “new long journalism” (Barnhurst and Mutz 1997, 27-28). In their diachronic content analysis of American newspaper reports published between 1894 and 1994, Barnhurst and Mutz (1997, 32-41) point to a consistent trend towards covering events from a more general angle, blurring the distinction between current events and history, and increasing the length of news reports; news reports make reference to social and demographic groups, outside official sources and expert commentators rather than ordinary individuals and cover much broader locations and time spans, including past.<sup>40</sup> Also, Jaworski et al. (2003) and Neiger (2006) have shown that newspaper reports raise their news value by prediction of and speculation about future events.

The Contextualization satellite is not explicitly explanatory, does not establish cause-and-effect relations with the events in the nucleus, and is consequently consistent with the aim of merely ‘chronicling’ events while simultaneously it offers enough background information to provide in-depth coverage. Contextual specification does not usually require heteroglossic backdrop as the events may be already accepted as facts or are not necessarily disrupting and are thus treated (more) monoglossically or reported indirectly. Such cases represent 67.3%, followed by satellites containing direct forms co-occurring with non-direct forms (23.8%) and satellites characterized only by the presence of direct forms (8.9%). The occurrence of direct forms in the function of Contextualization is more common for issues reports since the proposal or proposition made in the nucleus is then Contextualized not by reference to material events but by reference to other instances of verbal behaviour. The preference for direct forms in combination with non-direct ones (and narration) may also be attributable to

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<sup>40</sup> Barnhurst and Mutz (1997, 45-50) explain the shift towards contextualization and analysis by changes in the news market and journalism culture. For more recent studies of news content see Barnhurst (2002a, 2009), which provide an analogous content analysis of online news reports appearing on the internet in 2001 and 2005.

the need for some introductory or explanatory content providing insight into the background issue before a direct form is employed.

The next satellite type in terms of frequency is Appraisal (148, 8.8%), evaluating the nucleus by way of emotional response or reference to aesthetic norms or value judgement (White 1998). The importance of Appraisal lies in that it adds another interpersonal dimension to the news report and evaluates what has been already marked as significant by virtue of its appearance in the nucleus. In compliance with reporter voice the evaluation in Appraisal is extra-vocalised and grounded in the subjectivity of the reported individual. Appraisal satellites without any direct forms of presentation represent a considerably smaller proportion (14.9%) compared to satellites where direct forms appear with (41.2%) and without (43.9%) non-direct forms. Of all satellites Appraisal has the lowest number of cases which lack direct forms and also shows a higher percentage of direct forms without than with non-direct forms. Both tendencies can be explained by the distanced key required by reporter voice. Direct forms enable the reporter to avoid passing judgement or expressing attitude and as non-direct forms can be coloured by the reporter's perspective, reduced reliance on their employment may contribute to the desired impersonal tone.

Compared to Contextualization, Cause-and-Effect satellites are much less frequent. Consequence satellites (84), providing reasons, causes, consequences or purpose (White 1998), represent 5% of all satellite types. Their low frequency may be attributed to the pursuit of objective reporting at the expense of open interpretation and analysis in terms of causal relations. Even though print and online news are different in many aspects (see e.g. chapter 3.1), it may be interesting to note the changes described by Barnhurst (2009) in the corpus of online news gathered in 2005, which shows a drop in the presence of 'how' and 'why'. In percentage terms Consequence has a very similar distribution of reported language as Elaboration: direct forms are absent in 52.4% of satellites; direct forms appear in the presence of non-direct forms in 30.9% and in 16.7% in the absence of non-direct forms. An air of interpretation and analysis may require that the reporter distances himself from the content and consequently resorts to some form of reported language.

While Consequence offers ideational Cause-and-Effect, Justification provides text internal causation by means of rhetorical support or evidence (White 1998). With its 23 occurrences (1.3%), Justification belongs to marginal satellites, explaining why a particular proposal or proposition has been made or why it is correct or sensible to make it, which adds an argumentative dimension to the report. The presence of Counter-Justification (33, 2%), acting to undermine or challenge the idea and angle in the nucleus (White 1998), also gives

the text an air of debate since it offers an alternative point of view of a different voice, and bears relevance to the claim of objective and balanced reporting. Both Justification and Counter-Justification tend to appear in issues reports and rely on some form of reported rather than authorial language, which is in accord with the role the journalist assumes in the hard news report. In both relations, satellites with direct forms of presentation prevail over those which lack them (45.5% of Counter-Justification and 47.8% of Justification). Counter-Justification is realized solely by direct forms in 21.2%, whereas the number is higher for Justification – 34.8%. On the contrary, the latter combines direct forms with non-direct ones less frequently (17.4%) than the former (33.3%).

Another satellite from the Cause-and-Effect family which poses a challenge to the nucleus is Concession (17 occurrences, 1%). Concession, as opposed to Counter-Justification, does not directly undermine the assertion in the nucleus, but frustrates expectations or conclusions following from what is said. The low frequency could be attributed to the fact pointed out by White (1998, 304-5): selecting an element and foregrounding it in the nucleus is motivated by it being judged as deviating from what is expected and hence in essence counter-expectational, or concessive. Consequently, if an event is perceived as sufficiently counter-expectational to be newsworthy, it is likely to be presented as the point of impact, i.e. in the nucleus. Concession satellites are predominantly based on non-direct forms of presentation and/or narration (58.8%); direct forms of presentation appear in combination with non-direct forms (35.3%) and only scarcely in isolation (5.9%).

The last two satellite types to be dealt with are Balance and Wrap-up. Balance (6, 0.3%) was attested only in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*, and despite its insignificant frequency by providing an explanation of why a particular news actor was not given space in the report or declined the opportunity to air his opinion, it underlies the communicative purpose of hard news. Although it is impossible to generalize, the predominating absence of a news actor's voice may explain the employment of (non-)direct forms and narration. There are no satellites containing only direct forms; there are 2 cases (33.3%) in which a direct form is found with a non-direct form and 4 cases (66.7%) which lack direct forms entirely.

Wrap-ups (5, 0.3%) are statements which indicate that a closure in the extra-linguistic reality has not been achieved. In contrast to other satellites (perhaps except Balance), Wrap-up represents a direct intrusion of the journalist into the story and thus invariably takes the form of narration. The lack of direct forms makes Wrap-up irrelevant for the present discussion; for exemplification see App. 2A, DT5, DT24, DT25; App. 2C, I39; App. 2D, T29.

Wrap-ups realized by satellites which provide interpersonal or ideational closure are briefly touched upon in 4.5.6 and exemplified in chapters 6.4, 6.5.3 and 6.6.

A more detailed interpretation of the function of direct forms of presentation is given in chapters 6.2 – 6.10. The occurrence of each form is explained vis-à-vis its syntactic and deictic properties and the way these reflect or contribute to the function and generic peculiarity of each section. Although the approach is primarily generic and relies on the concepts of reporter voice and heteroglossia, a few digressions are made catering for, necessarily incomplete, theoretical background relevant to the meanings expressed by a given satellite. For instance, in the discussion of Appraisal a digression is made to the area of evaluation in general; or, in the discussion of Cause-Effect relations, a digression is made to the area of rhetoric.

The distinction between direct and combined forms occurring with and without non-direct forms (and possibly narration) is retained. Since not all satellite types and forms of presentation occur with sufficient frequency, the claims made regarding the employment of less significant forms/satellites are necessarily tentative and inconclusive. Moreover, although postulating ambiguities in the analysis of reported language and generic structure may partially mitigate possible bias in interpretation and the effect of the analyst's reading position, an element of subjectivity cannot be entirely excluded, especially as far as the analysis of generic structure is concerned.

## **6.2 The Headline**

This section deals with the function of direct forms of presentation in the Headline. As shown in Table 5 above, out of 235 headlines, 23.4% (55) contain only direct forms of presentation, possibly in combination with narration; 6.8% (16) contain direct forms employed with non-direct forms, and possibly narration; and 69.8% (164) rely solely on non-direct forms and/or narration. Table 6 summarizes the occurrence of direct forms occurring without non-direct forms. It includes (free) direct and combined forms on the speech, writing and thought scales, narration combined with a partial quote and ambiguous forms.

Headlines : direct forms only (+Narration)								
Satellites/55	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	11	0	0	1	5			17
Writing	0	0	0	0	0			0
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						16		16
Ambiguity							22	22
Total	11	0	0	1	5	16	22	55
Total %	20	0	0	1.8	9.1	29.1	40	100

Table 6: Headline – direct forms of presentation

From the total number of forms (55) and Headlines (55) in this group follows that there is one direct form per Headline. Looking at the unambiguous categories first, narration combined with a partial quote (N-q) is the most frequent (16), followed by free direct discourse (FDD, 11), narrator's representation of speech act with topic combined with a partial quote (NRDAp-q, 5) and indirect discourse combined with a partial quote (ID-q, 1). Direct discourse (DD) and free indirect discourse combined with a partial quote (FID-q) appear with zero occurrence. On the other hand, ambiguous forms of presentation represent the most frequent category (22). As for the speech, writing and thought distinction, only speech forms occurred. The absence of writing and thought can be explained by low compatibility of direct thought with this type of genre and the lack of signals indicating medium, in which case speech interpretation was preferred.

Examples 1-3 illustrate the most frequent unambiguous category, narration combined with a partial quote.

#### Example 1

<N-q>Body armour boss '**looted £126m from firm**' (App. 1A, DT24)

#### Example 2

< N-q>Mother's weakly tipple '**will not harm new baby**' (App. 1A, DT37)

#### Example 3

<N-q>'**Failings**' in rebuilt schools (App. 1A, DT38)

Examples 1-3 all lack a reporting signal and were thus classified as instances of N-q. The partial quotes, marked in bold, can be of variable length, ranging from one-word quotes (example 3) to longer ones (examples 1-2). N-q is convenient since there are no formal



requirements on narrator's language so it easily complies with space constraints. The Headline may take the form of a phrase (example 3) or a sentence (examples 1-2).

In example 3 the Headline summarizes, generalizes and abstracts from the whole newspaper report, whereas examples 1 and 2 offer a selective synopsis, presenting the event at the same level of abstraction (White 1998, 269-275). In all cases, the phrases quoted directly are instrumental in the role the Headline plays in the generic structure. As a part of the nucleus, the Headline helps to identify the socially or otherwise significant event – an event that destabilizes the status quo and goes against the expected social norms or state of knowledge (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1997, White 1998). In example 1 the direct quote identifies the crime committed and example 3 points to an undesirable and counter-expectational event in the education system. These events are negative and thus news- and quote-worthy, and their identification at the same time helps to stabilize and reinforce the established norms. In example 2, the directly quoted discourse questions harmful effects of small amounts of alcohol drunk in pregnancy, a point of view probably accepted and considered correct by most members of the lay public. Since the validity of the viewpoint is now challenged, it is the source of “amazement value” (White 1998, 334; also Fahnestock 1986, Haupt 2010), an important aspect of the nucleus especially in popular scientific news.

Even though the voices and perspectives in N-q are clearly separated by quotation marks, the voice/perspective evoked in the partial direct quote is interpreted against the perspective/voice evoked by the surrounding context (Semino et al. 1997, 31). In example 3, the layman's voice is evoked by the informal vocabulary (*tipple*) only to be immediately challenged by the partial quote (*will not harm new baby*). In example 1 the reference to the protagonist by a general categorizing label (*body armour boss*) rather than individualizing first name or surname communicates attitudes towards him and presents him in a particular light (see e.g. van Leeuwen 1996; Jančaříková 2009, 2010; Richardson 2007, 49-52). The label reflects the voice of the journalist and the communicative purpose of the Headline: the crime identified by the partial quote, lying outside the journalist's perspective but placed alongside the stretch of narration, is interpreted as having been committed not by a particular individual but by a person in a certain social position. Categories have the potential to portray a single event as a more pervasive problem since it is not relegated to individuals but possibly generalized to the whole social or ethnic class, which goes hand in hand with the nuclear role of the Headline.

The Headline (and Lead) mirrors a dialogue between the conventional, normal, generally accepted point of reference against which everything else is measured, and the

deviant, highlighted in the Headline. Headlines based on pure narration, i.e. discourse originating with the reporter, portray the source of the disequilibrium from his perspective and since narration brings in no other voice to which the validity of the content would be restricted, it does not openly acknowledge the existence of alternative voices and the content is presented as comparatively more monoglossic, i.e. not open to negotiation and hence fact-like and taken for granted (Martin and White 2005, 99-100). In N-q, the words selected for partial quotation reflect the perspective of an unspecified voice, which intertwines with that of the journalist. Admittedly, equating narration with monoglossia is an over-simplification since reported language is not the only source of dialogue and heteroglossia (e.g. Martin and White 2005, 92-160) but, considering the reported language versus narration dichotomy, the former clearly contributes to heteroglossia whereas the latter may not.

The second most frequent form is free direct discourse (FDD), free direct speech in particular (FDS, 11), shown in examples 4-6.

Example 4

<FDS>‘**Get a grip to avoid second Southern Cross**’ (App. 2A, DT49)

Example 5

<FDS><*e1NRT*>*I knew* <*e1IT*>*our silicone was inferior*, <NRS>says breast implant chief  
(App. 2D, T40)

Example 6

<FDS>**I’m here for British jobs** (App. 2A, DT15)

Examples 4-6 are instances of free direct speech (FDS) since (4) lacks the reporting clause, (5) quotation marks, and (6) both. All three show indisputable signals of perspective of the original deictic situation, namely the imperative form in (4) and the first person pronouns in (5) and (6). As with N-q, FDD identifies an event threatening to destabilize the status quo: example 4 points to the lack of preventive action in the social care system and urges to rectify the situation in order to prevent care providers from going bankrupt as it happened in the case of Southern Cross; example 5 points to the knowledge of unacceptable practices in medical care. The Headline in (6) is not particularly destabilizing but still significant, relating to David Cameron’s visit to India the purpose of which was the negotiation of future business activities between India and Britain.

Due to their identical syntactic and deictic properties FDD and DD are purported to meet the faithfulness claims to form, content and speech act value (Semino et al. 1997).

However, as suggested by Short (1988), in Headlines the three claims may not be adhered to to the same extent in comparison with (F)DD found in the body of the text (Short 1988, 67-9).<sup>41</sup> In some cases the FDD used in the Headline is used in a different form in the body of the text. For instance, the Headline in example 4 is Elaborated as DS (...*said: "The Department of health must get to grips with the very real risks to the social care market if we are to avoid another Southern Cross."* DT49, Elaboration A1, S3). Although the Headline repeats the phrase *to get to grips* found in the (presumably more faithful) DS in Elaboration A1, it shortens the whole quote and changes the deontic modal into an imperative structure, which helps to heighten the urgency of the situation. In example 6 the words and structures used to summarize the purpose of the British PM's visit to India seem to originate with the journalist addressing the British audience but are veiled by the subjectivity of the unspecified, yet easily identifiable, reported speaker, referred to by the first person pronoun (*I am...*). No instance of reported language comparable to the FDS in terms of content or form appears in the body of the text.

Short (1988, 75) refers to such FDDs as speech summaries, "eye-catching versions of a macro-proposition representing a group of sentences in the anterior utterance". The idea of a speech summary tallies with the function of the nucleus as a generalizing abstract in which "the maxim of strikingness" is given preference to "the maxim of quality" (Short 1988, 75). Simultaneously, the retention of the original deictic centre and the reported speaker's perspective achieves the effect of drama and appeal. Although in the body of the text DD outnumbers FDD, in the Headline the relative proportion is reversed. The relaxation of faithfulness claims in the Headline may clash with the presence of quotation marks and the source of attribution, the primary signals associated with verbatim reproduction in DD and possibly creating greater expectations of faithfulness. Consequently, the particularity of the (presumably more faithful) DD, peculiar to a single reported language or thought event, may not achieve the desirable level of abstraction. On the contrary, in FDD the lack of quotation marks and/or the source of attribution allows the desirable level of summarization/interpretation and at the same time helps to avoid libel (Short et al. 1998, 52). Richardson (2007, 105-106) refers to these instances as "ostensible direct quotations", highlighting the fact that the reader is intended to recognize that the quote is not accurate or has been completely fabricated. The summary-like FDD in Headlines represent instances

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<sup>41</sup> In his corpus of Headlines excerpted from the British quality and tabloid press, Short (1988, 65-66) did not identify any instances of (F)DD in the quality newspapers, presumably because they strive to avoid making the impression of being sensationalist. Zero occurrence in Short's corpus (in comparison to the low occurrence in the present corpus) can be probably attributed to its much smaller size.

where FDD may not be considered only a mere variant of DD but may have different pragmatic implications, for example as far as faithfulness is concerned.

Fairclough (1988), drawing on Vološinov (1986), discusses the issue in connection with the low demarcation between reported (secondary) and journalist's (primary) discourse. The strategy, based on translating reported discourse into the style of the reporter (or the audience), is referred to as "incorporation" and corroborates Fairclough's observation of a tendency to focus primarily on the ideational level (Fairclough 1988, 128, 134). Referring to Hartley (1982, 87), Fairclough (1988, 132), attributes the tendency to mediate and accommodate the reported language to the "common sense" of the target audience to economic pressures. The Headline undergoes stylistic translation in order to mediate the message in the form that shows solidarity with the target audience (Fairclough 1992, 105-113). According to Hall et al. (1978, cited in Fairclough 1988, 133), mediating the voice of the powerful as the voice of the common helps to legitimize and reproduce the asymmetry in power relations. In Goffman's (1981, 226) terms, the voice of the principal (reported speaker) is communicated via the actual words and structures of the author and animator (the journalist), adapted to the suit the target audience.

The combined forms, indirect speech with a partial quote (ID-q, 1) and narrator's representation of speech act with topic partially quoted directly (NRDAp-q, 5), represent the least frequent categories, illustrated by examples 7-9.

#### Example 7

<NRS>General says <IS-q>Army nearly '**seized up**' with too many missions (App. 2C, I4)

#### Example 8

<NRSAp-q>NHS hospitals warned of '**race to the bottom**' (App. 2B, G28)

#### Example 9

<NRSAp-q>Home Secretary announces end to '**ludicrous**' system of Asbos (App. 2C, I6)

Combined forms, especially NRDAp-q with no separate reporting and reported clause structure, offer the advantage of a brief summary which simultaneously highlights the selected phrase. This makes them, next to N-q, suitable for fulfilling the generic function of the Headline and meeting its space limitations. Example 7 highlights the problems faced by the British when operating in overseas missions; example 8 warns of possible problems in the health system in the future; and 9 promises to improve the system of measures tackling minor criminal offences by discarding Asbos, Anti-Social Behaviour Orders. Partial quotes serve to

identify the problem and also set the phrases apart at the level of perspective and responsibility: in 7 and 8 the metaphorical status of the expressions deviates from the style of hard news and triggers evaluation; in example 9 extra-vocalisation is required by the highly evaluative character of the highlighted phrase.

As for the forms with zero occurrence, mention has already been made of DD and its association with verbatim presentation, not probably so strongly felt with FDD. As for FID-q, its absence seems related not only to its overall marginal frequency in this kind of genre but also to the requirement of a more extensive contextual grounding which helps to establish the perspective of the reported speaker and trigger FID(-q) interpretation (see e.g. Sanders and Redeker 1993). The lack of context and insufficient signals of perspective are also the cause of ambiguity, discussed later. Now a few comments will be made on direct forms appearing in combination with non-embedded non-direct forms.

A comparison of the data in Table 6 and Table 7 shows that the number of direct forms appearing without non-direct forms (55) is much higher than the number of direct forms appearing with non-direct forms (16). Nevertheless, the relative frequencies of the individual forms are comparable: N-q (7) and ambiguous forms (5) appear more frequently than (F)DD (2) and combined forms (2). As most of the forms were discussed above, attention will be briefly paid to DS and the interaction between direct and non-direct forms.

Headlines : direct forms combined with non-direct forms (+Narration)								
Satellites/16	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	1	1	0	1	1			4
Writing	0	0	0	0	0			0
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						7		7
Ambiguity							5	5
Total	1	1	0	1	1	7	5	16
Total %	6.25	6.25	0	6.25	6.25	43.75	31.3	100

Table 7: Headline – direct forms of presentation accompanied by non-direct forms

Example 10 illustrates an instance of direct speech (DS) appearing with an instance of inferred internal narration (NI-i): the Headline identifies two sources of disruption – the DS highlights a diplomatically unfortunate remark made by the British PM and NI-i its negative consequence, Pakistan's sense of discontent.

#### Example 10

<NI-i>Pakistanis irate over <DS>PM's '**exporting terror**' <NRS>remark (App. 2C, I5)

The direct form under discussion is classified as DS since it is enclosed in quotation marks and the reporting signal clearly identifies the source. Still, it is not a typical token of DS for the relation between the reporting signal and the reported element is grammatically tighter – the direct quote functions as premodification of the NRS (*remark*). Clark and Gerrig (1990, 789-790) refer to such cases as “embedded quotations”, not to be confused with discursively embedded forms. According to Clark and Gerrig (1990, 790), in contrast to partial (“incorporated”) quotes the advantage of embedded quotation is its irrelevant structure, rendering it a flexible form of reporting. The lack of formal constraints on the reported element, one of the characteristic properties of DD, is the main reason for viewing (10) as DD. The brevity of the quote tallies with premodification being one of the space-saving strategies employed in Headlines (Reah 1998, 20-22; for more details on premodification in news reports in general see e.g. Jucker 1992, Biber 2003, Ni 2003). Also, the DD bears similarity to the FDD discussed above in that instead of providing the complete quote it merely hints at the theme of the remark. The space constraints appear to have also affected the choice of the minimal form of thought report, the internal narration. Thus both forms refer to the source of disequilibrium in a manner that complies with the demands on space.

As in example 10, N-q in example 11 and the FDS in example 12 appear with non-direct forms with a potential to summarize the original language or thought event.

#### Example 11

<N-q><NI-i>Met chief is '**outraged**' that <NRSA-h>G20 officer filmed hitting man will not be charged (App. 2D, T8)

The Headline in example 11 contains N-q, which highlights a strong emotional reaction and so overlaps with a minimal form of thought report, inferred internal narration (*outraged*, NI-i); finally, there is a narrator's representation of speech act, which is on account of its being negated and allocated in future hypothetical (NRSA-h). The forms detail neither a particular thought nor the content of the unaccomplished speech act (*charge*). The NRSA-h refers to a course of justice which counter to expectations will not take place after an act of violence by a police officer towards a member of the public. The absence of the expected charges is the source of the disequilibrium and the cause of *outrage* on the part of the

Commissioner of Metropolitan Police. Note that the participants are referred to by nouns specifying their professional status (*Met chief, G20 officer*) and stand in contrast with the victim portrayed as an ordinary citizen (*man*).

#### Example 12

<FDS><e1NRSAp>***I've been demonised***, <NRS>Hayward says <N>as <NRSAp>BP confirms his exit (App. 2D, T5)

Example 12 is more complex in that the non-direct forms report content in the form of two instances of narrator's representation of speech act with topic (NRSAp), one of which is embedded at level one (e1NRSAp) in the free direct speech. The non-embedded NRSAp contextualizes the FDS and specifies the circumstances under which the FDS was uttered.

The last section will be devoted to the discussion of two most frequent kinds of ambiguities. Although the Headline is connected to the body of the text generically, it is not embedded in any preceding context and is often read without the accompanying text. As pointed out by Bell (1991, 187), it is to a certain extent a stand-alone unit. The relative contextual isolation and the linguistic properties of the employed forms may render their interpretation indeterminate. Out of 71 headlines containing direct forms, 27 were interpreted as ambiguous, which represents approximately 38%.

The form in example 13 is ambiguous between free direct speech, free indirect speech and indirect speech.

#### Example 13

<FDS//FIS//IS>**Gaza is like a prison camp**, <NRS>says PM (App. 2A, DT14)

The form under examination can be regarded as a free direct speech lacking quotation marks but because there are no clear signals of the original deictic centre, a less direct interpretation cannot be excluded, namely a form ambiguous between free indirect speech and indirect speech. The latter ambiguity was postulated on account of the final position of the reporting clause and the lack of syntactic subordination, the presence of which is critical to the delimitation of IS. However, the mere final position of the reporting clause does not seem to trigger unambiguous FIS reading since otherwise the form does not evince any signals typical of FIS: the reporting verb takes present tense and the reported clause lacks tense shift and expressive items evoking the reported speaker's perspective (e.g. Redeker 1996). As in

the case of similar forms found in the Lead and the body of the text, the final position of the reporting clause seems to be driven by other factors than evoking the perspective of the reported speaker, for instance foregrounding the content and backgrounding the source, or creating an impression of monoglossic presentation which is later repudiated. In fact, the present tense orientation seems to reflect the perspective of the reporting speaker and the rhetorical purpose of the new recontextualizing text, namely highlighting an event that is newsworthy due to being, among other factors, recent. Consequently, the form was found ambiguous between FIS and IS.

On the scale from FDD to narration, such forms span over three adjacent categories. They start at FDD, evoking only the deictic centre of the reported speaker, proceed via FID, a deictic blend of the reported and reporting situations, to ID, reflecting chiefly the deictic expressivity of the reporting speaker. The deictic shift from the reported to the reporting speaker is accompanied by a shift in perspective of the respective speakers. These triply ambiguous forms point to the merging of voices in the Headline. The lack of sufficient formal signals goes hand in hand with the summary function of the Headline, relaxation of faithfulness claims, the lack of context and may even aim at purposeful indeterminacy.

In the following examples direct forms are ambiguous with narration combined with a scare quote and the indeterminacy is caused by the lack of context and unclear perspectivisation. The use of scare quotes is functionally very similar to and to a great extent overlaps with quoting proper. Scare quoting is defined as placing certain words in quotation marks to indicate disagreement or distance on the part of the speaker or unacceptability of a term in the context used (Weizman 1984, 44-45; Thompson 1996, 509; Predelli 2003). McDonald (2008, 119) sees the problem of scare quoting related to “calling things by their ‘proper’ names” and in cases when this does not occur, “‘incorrect’ phraseology must be marked out”. Similarly, Predelli (2003, 2) talks about the apologetic tone expressed in cases where scare quotes indicate expressions of slang, jargon, expressions not fitting for the style and purpose of the text or those with which the audience may not be familiar; or the writer may scare quote in order to indicate that he repeats someone else’s words but is opposed to the manner they are used (Predelli 2003, 2-3).

Consequently, in both scare quoting and quoting proper the journalist may indicate that the words in quotation marks clash with his point of view but in scare-quoting he may or may not rely on an external source and thus may or may not simultaneously extra-vocalise. With the aim of the present analysis in mind, here the concept of scare quoting (-sq) is limited only to contexts implying the journalist’s distancing without extra-vocalisation; quoting



proper (-q) covers all cases of extra-vocalisation irrespective of whether they express disagreement or distance. The ambiguity arises when it is not clear whether the material in quotation marks is merely presented as not compatible with the point of view the journalist wants to adopt (scare quoting) or whether it is not part of the journalist's discourse world/perspective and simultaneously is compatible with and belongs to the perspective/discourse world of some other individual and hence is a case of direct quote proper. The ambiguity between quotation proper and scare quoting is very frequent with narration combined with a partial (or scare) quote since even on N-q interpretation, the original source and thus the perspective different from the journalist's is not specified.<sup>42</sup>

In example 14 the Headline highlights a release from prison of an Ethiopian political prisoner, Birtukan Mideksa. The Headline is ambiguous between narration combined with a partial quote and narration combined with a scare quote.

#### Example 14

<N-q//N-sq> '**Ethiopia's Mandela**' freed five years after <NRSAp>disputed elections

(App. 2B, G22)

On the scare quote reading, the phrase in quotation marks originated with the journalist and was employed presumably to approximate by means of an analogy a figure with whom the readers are unfamiliar to a well known personality. In this case, the expression *Mandela* is not used in its expected reference and the deviation from the common use necessitates the employment of quotation marks. On the quote proper reading, the referring expression originated with an (unspecified) reported speaker. In the body of the text, Mideksa's supporters are reported to *chant* "*Birtukan Mandela*" (NRSAp-q), using an expression identical in reference to *Ethiopia's Mandela*, which supports the quote proper interpretation also of the form in the Headline. However, even if the form is interpreted as a quote proper, the reporter's point of view seems to pervade it by means of the proper noun

<sup>42</sup> A verbal equivalent of scare quoting is the *so-called* formula, a metalinguistic comment used as a marker of detachment from a lexical item (McDonald 2008, 125; Stubbs 1986, 13-14). In the present treatment the so-called phrase was understood as narration; in the Lancaster corpus of speech, writing and thought forms of presentation in spoken British English, similar uses are treated as a newly introduced category termed "report of language use" (McIntyre et al. 2004, 63) not yet distinguished in the corpus of written British English (Semino and Short 2004). Even though all instances of scare quoting (or their verbal metalinguistic equivalents) do not have the status of reports *sensu stricto*, they are essentially heteroglossic since there is a traceable presence of a background voice that is different from the journalist and/or the intended audience and whose point of view is, contrary to their point of view, congruent with the given expression, resulting in a clash between voices and dialogic tension. For the ambiguity between quotes and scare quotes in the Headline and the use of the so-called phrase in the body of the text see e.g. App. 2D, T22 (Contextualization C1, S5).

*Ethiopia's*, which in contrast to a pronoun (e.g. *our*) reflects the point of view of the journalist rather than Ethiopia's people. As cross-referencing was not employed in the analysis, the ambiguity in the Headline was retained.

Example 15 involves multiple interpretation between quoting and scare quoting (narration) connected to the uncertain status of the potential reporting signal (*myth*).

#### Example 15

<DS//N-sq>'Eating for two'<NRS//N> myth is making pregnant women fat (App. 2D, T9)

The presence of quotation marks, the reporting signal and the relation between the reporting and reported element point to the direct speech interpretation. More specifically, it is an instance of Clark and Gerrig's embedded quotation (Clark and Gerrig 1990, 789-790), i.e. a quotation which despite its close syntactic relation to the reporting signal is not restricted in form (see also example 10). The reporting signal *myth* suggests that the idea in quotation marks is something that has been wrongly accepted, believed in and perpetuated in practice and also in language. This implicit repetition tallies with the phrase being understood as a quote and, indeed, for the Headline to work it needs to be recognized as "at least not partially original", in the sense of not originating with the reporter (Thompson 1996, 509).

At the same time, however, the source of the myth is not a specific individual but rather the whole "community" (Thompson 1996, 509). The idea of myth and community recognizes the presence of a voice but the fact that the understanding of examples like 15 necessitates "shared knowledge of ... echoes or repetitions of bits of language" (Thompson 1996, 510, drawing on Hoey 1991, 155-159) makes it distinct from the prototypical instances of language and thought reports. Its conventionality and community affiliation cast doubt on its quotability, its status of a report per se and places it closer to narration. The quotation marks may be used to indicate a change in style and the presence of a (not unequivocally reported) different voice. The reader's familiarity with the quote is vital for its functionality in the Headline. First, on recognition the Headline makes a direct contact with and appeal to the reader. Second, the quote is qualified as a myth, which means it refutes the common belief and thus upsets the epistemic status quo. Moreover, the myth is placed into a direct relation with another negative issue, namely the myth being a cause of weight problems in pregnancy, which adds to its disruptive potential.

The above paragraphs have shown the connection between the employment of narration and forms of presentation and the function of the Headline. Generally, non-direct

forms and/or narration are the preferable mode of expression. Disregarding the presence of other devices which have the potential to evoke voice and provide heteroglossic backdrop (e.g. scare quotes), in the case of narration the source of disequilibrium is presented as monoglossic, fact-like and taken for granted. In the case of non-direct forms of presentation the disequilibrium is presented heteroglossically and to an extent confined to the voice of others, whose subjectivity is, however, coated in the interpretation of the journalist. The employment of purely non-direct forms and/or narration responds to the process of massification of news, heterogeneity of the audience and the need to set one unifying angle from which the story is told. In this respect non-direct forms and narration are most flexible.

Simultaneously, however, the heterogeneity of the audience, their values and points of view may be catered for by (F)DD. As the source of the disequilibrium is an event that is novel and still open to interpretation, confining the information to the subjectivity of the source of attribution renders the interpretation one of many, open to negotiation and thus indirectly sympathetic to different reading positions and points of view. Nevertheless, despite FDD being deictically oriented entirely to the reported speaker, the FDD in the Headline may not fully comply with faithfulness claims and accommodates to the summarizing function, sometimes with accompanying stylistic changes. DD is in comparison to FDD of marginal occurrence, which could be attributed to higher expectations of faithfulness claims. It may not be a coincidence that, structurally, the only example found was not a typical instance of DD.

Partial quotes combine the advantage of brevity and selective summary with emphasis on the selected string of words. In other words, they combine the advantages of narration, direct and non-direct forms: the narrative or non-direct part interprets and/or abstracts, and thus sets a unifying angle on the story which the journalist believes (his audience will find) disturbing; and the directly quoted part brings in the subjectivity of the voice of others. As partial quotes are incorporated into and interpreted within the surrounding context, forms with a partial quote are characterised by the mingling of voices and perspectives. Thus the Headlines based on N-q and combined forms are capable to serve the need for unification and at the same time make the impression of respecting the diversity among the audience.

A substantial number of forms were ambiguous. Ambiguity is caused by insufficient signalling of the deictic centre and the tendency to relax faithfulness claims. A relative contextual isolation of the Headline, possible under-specification of the source of attribution and functional overlap may also make a form ambiguous between quoting proper and scare quoting. The lack of context which would establish the perspective of the reported speaker can also explain the absence of FID-q.

The nuclear role of the Headline on the ideational, interpersonal and textual plane, the prevailing forms of presentation and the kind of ambiguities point to the crucial role the journalist plays in setting the angle on the reported event.

### 6.3 The Lead

The discussion of direct forms of presentation in the Lead will proceed along similar lines to the discussion of the Headline. It will be shown that despite the nuclear function of both, differences, as well as similarities, in the employment of reported language can be found. As shown in Table 5, out of the total of 175 Leads, 17 (9.7%) contain direct forms (and narration) without accompanying non-direct forms, in 18 (10.3%) cases direct forms appear in the presence of non-direct forms (and narration) and the majority of cases, 140 (80%), is realized only by non-direct forms and/or narration. Thus, in comparison to the Headline, in the Lead the ratio between direct forms with and without non-direct forms is more balanced and the number of Leads marked by the total absence of direct forms is higher. As for the speech, writing and thought distinction, speech prevails over writing and thought in the Lead as well as in the Headline. Now attention will be paid to the individual direct and combined forms appearing with and without non-direct forms.

In the Lead, the combined forms ID-q (5) and NRDAp-q (3), representing 29.4% and 17.6% respectively, outnumber the only other unambiguous form, narration with a partial quote (N-q, 2) with 11.8%.

Lead: direct forms only (+N)								
Satellites/17	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	0	0	0	5	3			8
Writing	0	0	0	0	0			0
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						2		2
Ambiguity							7	7
Total	0	0	0	5	3	2	7	17
Total %	0	0	0	29.4	17.6	11.8	41.2	100

Table 8: Lead – direct forms of presentation

Examples 16-19 illustrate all unambiguous combined forms of presentation and narration.

#### Example 16

##### Lead

<NRS>The BBC and the Met Office are today urged <IS-q>to bring an end to “**forecast discrimination**” by putting Jersey on the national weather map. (App. 2B, G12)

#### Example 17

##### Lead

<N>The NHS is being stretched to breaking point by a surge in emergency admissions among the over-80s to more than 1.2 million last year. <NRS>Experts say<IS-q> that “**inadequate and patchy provision**” of out-of-hours GP services are partly to blame for the 37 per cent increase in two years. (App. 2D, T43)

Examples 16 and 17 are both instances of indirect speech partially quoted directly (IS-q), the latter is accompanied by a stretch of narration. In accordance with the function of the nucleus, they identify events considered socially or economically problematic: example 16 is a proposal which highlights in partial quote *forecast discrimination* of the Island of Jersey and calls for rectification; the narration in example 17 identifies as problematic the rise in admissions of the elderly in the NHS, the IS-q further elaborates on the problem and provides an explanation or cause, highlighted in the partial quote. Note that the reporting verbs (*are urged*, *say*) are in the present tense,<sup>43</sup> underscoring the immediacy and urgency of the problem (see also the Headlines in examples 5, 7, 9, 12, 13).

Also, both Leads contain intensified vocabulary items, words in which the interpersonal value of force has been experientialised, i.e. fused with their experiential meaning (Iedema et al. 1994, 224; White 1998, 154-164; Martin and White 2005, 140-153). This concerns, for instance, the reporting verb *urge* in 16 and *stretch to a breaking point* or *surge in admissions* in 17. Intensive lexical items typically concentrate in the Headline and Lead and enhance their nuclearity at the interpersonal level, contributing to the so-called “syndrome of intensification” (White 1998, 304-305). In contrast to most other modes of evaluation (discussed mainly in chapter 6.4), expressed e.g. by the partially quoted items (*discrimination*, *inadequate*, *patchy*), experientialised force is compatible with reporter voice and appears unattributed.

Example 18, narrator’s representation of speech act with topic, presents the evaluation

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<sup>43</sup> The connection between tense in the projecting clauses and the rhetorical strategy of the reporting structure is noted also e.g. by van Leeuwen (1987, 205).

by the former Ukrainian PM of a dress code newly introduced in the Cabinet of Ministers. The pejorative evaluative adjective is quoted directly.

#### Example 18

##### Lead

<NRSAp-q>THE COUNTRY'S glamorous former prime minister dismissed the government's new dress code as **“laughable”** yesterday. (App. 2C, I18)

Example 19, narration with a partial quote, does not feature an event that could represent a threat to the social order but is still newsworthy, an award of the Nobel Prize to two scientists working in Britain.

#### Example 19

##### Lead

<N-q>THE discovery of a wonder material while **“mucking about in the lab”** has won two British-based scientists the Nobel Prize in Physics. (App. 2A, DT32)

The N-q identifies the scientific achievement – *the discovery of a wonder material*, which by being expressed in layman's terms presents the event in a manner that makes the issue more palatable and interesting to the general public. It contains an element of amazement (*wonder*) at the newly discovered material Elaborated on in the body of the text (its properties, future application), and is a source of “wonder appeal” and “application appeal”, which contribute to the newsworthiness of popularized science news (Fahnestock 1986, Haupt 2010). It contrasts content- and stylewise with the piece of information enclosed in quotation marks (*mucking about in the lab*), saying that the two scientists were only playing about in the laboratory, put in a manner which shows their point of view of and familiarity with scientific activities and environment and perhaps to an extent trivialises and humanises the discovery process as something ordinary and not particularly challenging. The N-q juxtaposes but clearly separates two different perspectives and voices, the perspective and voice of the lay public and the extra-vocalised perspective and voice of science and expertise.

Unfortunately, the number of combined forms is too low to allow any hard and fast conclusions. Nevertheless, it may be noted that although ID-q, NRDAp-q and N-q meet the need to summarize, the lower number of N-q in comparison to the Headline and in comparison to the ID-q and NRDAp-q in the Lead may suggest that the need for the economy

of expression may not be so pressing. Moreover, the Lead as opposed to the Headline may require a clear identification of the source of attribution, not given in N-q. The Lead is marked for the total absence of (F)DD not accompanied by non-direct forms. This could be again explained by reference to the summarizing function of the Lead, which is more reporting speaker oriented, and thus may not tally with the reported speaker oriented (F)DD. It must be borne in mind that in the Lead the expectations of faithfulness may be higher than in the Headline, which may not allow the journalist to adjust form and content to provide the required summary and angle. The reporting speaker oriented summary can also explain the absence of FID-q, the perspective of which is, like in the case of (F)DD, primarily reported speaker oriented.

Now a few comments will be made on direct forms which are accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration). Table 9 summarizes the results.

Lead: direct forms in combination with non-direct (+N)								
Satellites /18	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	0	1	0	4	5			10
Writing	0	0	0	0	1			1
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						3		3
Ambiguity							4	4
Total	0	1	0	4	6	3	4	18
Total %	0	5.6	0	22.2	33.3	16.7	22.2	100

Table 9: Lead – direct forms of presentation accompanied by non-direct forms

Table 9 offers similar but not entirely identical results to Table 8. Looking at the differences first, Table 9 shows fewer ambiguities (4), one instance of DD, one form found on the writing scale (NRWAp-q) and ID-q (4) is less frequent than NRDAp-q (6). On the other hand, N-q is less frequent than ID-q and NRDAp-q irrespective of the presence of absence of non-direct forms. On the whole, however, the numbers and the differences between the Leads based solely on direct/combined forms of presentation and those in which they co-occur with non-direct forms are too small to be significant. Since all unambiguous combined forms functioning in the Lead were shown in examples 16-19 above, now attention will be paid to their interaction with non-direct forms, DD and ambiguous cases.

The Lead in example 20 is a two-paragraph Lead, with a number sign indicating paragraph boundaries (#). It identifies an event that is environmentally rather than socially

disturbing. It draws on a report (hence writing form of presentation) which offers the results of a study examining the rise in global temperatures. Moreover, the reference to the report as giving *the best evidence yet* implicitly disturbs and contrasts with the scientific status quo obtaining so far, challenges the accepted knowledge and adds to the text “amazement value”, discussed already in example 19 above and example 2 in chapter 6.2 (White 1998, 334; also Fahnestock 1986, Haupt 2010).

#### Example 20

##### Lead

<FIW//IW>Global temperatures in the first half of this year were the hottest since records began more than a century ago, <NRW>according to two leading climate research centres. #<N>Scientists have also released what<NRWAp-q> they described as the “**best evidence yet**” of rising long-term temperatures. <NRWAp>The report is the first to collate 11 different indicators, from air and sea temperatures to melting ice, each based on between three and seven data sets, dating back to between 1850 and the 1970s. (App. 2B, G13)

The NRWAp-q combines with narration and two other non-direct forms of presentation, both reporting writing. The Lead is more extensive and covers two issues – the rise in global temperatures, reported in the ambiguous FIW//IW form, and the evaluation of and background to the scientific report, reported in the form of narration, NRWAp-q, and NRWAp. The reference to a scientific piece of text, the evaluation realized linguistically by the superlative adjective and the lexical signal of evidentiality (*best evidence*) and the reference made in the NRWAp to the report’s primacy as regards its scope (*The report is the first to collate...*) raise the importance and newsworthiness of the finding, and justify the inclusion of the second paragraph in the Lead. The thematic and functional connection is supported by the cohesive link (*also*).<sup>44</sup> In this case the written forms of reporting lend credibility, authority and trustworthiness to the newspaper report. Example 21, albeit one paragraph in length, is also quite extensive.

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<sup>44</sup>Interestingly, in a scientific research paper, the move the generic function of which is to explain the significance of the finding is often placed towards the end of the report in the discussion stage (e.g. Nwogu 1997). In accordance with the way interpersonal meaning is distributed in the generic structure of hard news, this information is moved from the final to the initial section.



### Example 21

#### Lead

<NV>DAVID CAMERON sparked a diplomatic row yesterday<N> by<NRS> warning <IS-q>that Pakistan should not be allowed to “**promote the export of terror**” to the rest of the world. <NV>Speaking during a two-day visit to India, <NRSA>the Prime Minister increased the pressure on Pakistan<N> following this week’s leak of classified documents about the war in Afghanistan, <NRW>which suggested <IW>that Pakistan’s ISI intelligence agency might be supporting the Taliban insurgency. (App. 2C, I5)

First, the Lead refers to the warning issued by the British Prime Minister regarding Pakistan’s alleged role in promoting terrorism, with the accusation quoted directly (IS-q). In this case, both the content of the accusation and the fact that it was made in the first place are the source of disequilibrium. This is made clear by placing in the Lead its negative consequence – namely the diplomatic row, summarized in the form of narrator’s representation of voice (NV) and realized by metaphorical intensive vocabulary items (*sparked a row*). Note also that there is a causal relation indicated by the preposition (*by*). Moreover, the warning is contextualized as being uttered during a speech on a visit to India (NV) and following a similar accusation made in classified documents (IW).

Example 22 illustrates the only instance of direct speech occurring in the Lead.

### Example 22

#### Lead

<FIS//IS><eINI-i/N>THE GOVERNMENT is ready to back the creation of atheist schools as part of its series of reforms, <NRS>the Education Secretary, Michael Gove, said yesterday. #<NRS>He told MPs: <DS>“**It wouldn’t be my choice of school but the whole point of our education reforms is that they are, in the broad sense of the word, small ‘l’ liberal. They exist to provide that greater degree of choice.**” (App. 2C, I8)

Example 22, again a two-paragraph Lead, starts as an ambiguous non-direct report FIS//IS, reporting Michael Gove’s announcement of the Government’s approval of atheist schools. The following DS supports the previous statement and continues with the idea of education reforms. The functional unity is signalled by the similarity of topic and referential identity of the source of attribution; as will be shown later, such sequences are more typically found in satellites. In addition, the DS with its perspective and deictic orientation towards the

reported speaker is a convenient means of revealing Gove's personal preference (*"It wouldn't be my choice of school..."*), an aspect which is very scarce in the Lead as it individualizes and subjectifies the highlighted event.

The last section will be devoted to ambiguous cases, representing 22.2% and 41.2% of direct forms with and without non-direct forms. As in the case of Headlines, a common kind of ambiguity obtains between quote proper and scare quote, and can be explained by the indeterminacy of source and hence unclear perspective. Since this type of ambiguity was already discussed, attention will be paid to another kind of indeterminacy involving the issue of perspective but also reflecting the coding conventions and the nuclear function of the Lead. Example 23 is ambiguous between free indirect speech (FIS-q) and indirect speech (IS-q), both combined with a partial quote. As in many of the examples above, the expressive way of highlighting the core of the problem necessitates the partial quote.

Example 23

#### Lead

<FIS-q//IS-q>Thousands of civil servants in Whitehall are **"treading water"** with nothing to do because it is too expensive to make them redundant, <NRS>a minister claimed yesterday. (App. 2D, T4)

The combined (F)IS-q contains a final reporting clause, which due to the coding conventions (the lack of syntactic dependence of the reported clause on the reporting clause) prevents undisputed IS interpretation and points to FIS. At the same time, however, the reported clause lacks FID signals, such as tense shift or structures expressive of the reported speaker's deictic centre.<sup>45</sup> Despite the past tense of the reporting verb (*claimed*), the verbs in the reported clause are in present tense (*are, is*). The lack of tense shift can be explained by similar reasons as in ID, namely continuing applicability (Comrie 1986), the reporting speaker being the pragmatic source of the report (Salkie and Reed 1997) or affiliation with the reported speaker's intensional world (Declerck and Tanaka 1996). This shows, however, that the reported clause is much more reporting speaker oriented, hence more indirect, and reflects his perspective and the communicative purpose of the recontextualizing text. The present tense suits the function of the identification of the point of disruption, which in order to be

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<sup>45</sup> The uncertain status of such forms is reflected in different approaches by various linguists: Semino and Short (2004) prefer the solution of ambiguity, Waugh (1995) refers to paratactic indirect discourse, Redeker (1996) suggests FID (but notes its extended use) and Vandelanotte (2004, 2009) resorts to proposing a completely new form of representation, the so-called distancing indirect discourse.

destabilizing, relevant and newsworthy must be at the same time recent. It will be recalled that temporal orientation is one of the news values and one of the factors relevant for the category of hard news (e.g. Bell 1991, Tuchman 1978). Thus the ambiguity between FIS-q and IS-q in example 23 is established on the basis of the paratactic relation between reporting and reported clauses co-occurring with the reporting rather than reported speaker's perspective. Similar instances without a partial quote functioning in the Lead can be found in examples 20 and 22 above.

The above discussion has shown that as in the Headline the nuclear function of the Lead asserts itself in the choice of the forms of presentation. The role of the journalist in setting the angle on the story results in the overall proclivity to rely on purely non-direct forms and/or narration. With the proviso that voice can be signalled by other linguistic means than by attribution, the narrative Leads are relatively monoglossic and in non-direct Leads the voice/perspective of the reported speaker is comparatively subdued and overridden by the voice/perspective of the journalist. In percentage terms Leads characterised by the total absence of direct/combined forms are more numerous than the corresponding Headlines, and in the latter direct/combined forms tend to appear without the accompanying non-direct forms more than in the former, where the ratio of direct forms employed with and without non-direct forms is comparatively balanced. In spite of their common nuclear function these discrepancies correlate with the role of the Headline as an attention-seeking device and the need for brevity due to space constraints. On the other hand, Leads may function as more extensive summaries, sometimes referring to more events and expressing relations between them (examples 21 and 22). Combined forms satisfy the summary function of the Lead but, possibly for the reasons mentioned above, the Lead relies less on N-q than the Headline.

A notable difference between the Headline and the Lead can be found in the total absence of FDD in the latter, which is attributable to the low summarizing potential of FDD and simultaneously higher expectations of faithfulness claims in the Lead on the one hand, and possible relaxed adherence to faithfulness and attention seeking role of the Headline on the other. With one exception the deictic and perspectival particularity and orientation also explain the absence of DD in the Lead (and the Headline). Also, the functional peculiarities of the two sections show in the kind of ambiguities. All in all, the choices made in the system of direct/combined forms of presentation and narration reflect the functional similarities and differences between the two parts of the nucleus.

## 6.4 Appraisal

Appraisal is a satellite type for the realization of which direct forms of presentation are vital. As shown in Table 5, out of the 148 Appraisal satellites only 22 (14.9%) did not rely on any direct forms. On the other hand, 65 (43.9%) and 61 (41.2%) contain direct forms of presentation without and with other non-direct forms. The proportion of 43.9% is the highest proportion of all satellites types. Also, even though the difference in the ratio of direct forms with and without non-direct forms is insignificant, Appraisal is the only satellite type where the latter outnumbers the former. This is indisputably related to the impersonal and objective style of reporter voice and extra-vocalising most of the evaluation (Iedema et al. 1994, White 1998, Martin and White 2005). Although focus is placed on Appraisal as a particle in the generic structure, a few comments will be made on evaluation in general, largely drawing on the system of appraisal by Iedema et al. (1994), White (1998), Martin and White (2005) and less frequently on the works by Lemke (1998), Gruber (1993) or Bednarek (2006, 2009).<sup>46</sup> Although the notes on evaluation will be necessarily sketchy and incomplete, the topic cannot be entirely discarded from discussion.

Direct/combined forms of presentation appearing without non-direct forms, summarized in Table 10, will be discussed first.

Appraisal: direct forms only (+N)								
Satellites/65	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	26	50	1	14	5			96
Writing	1	2	0	1	0			4
Thought	0	3	0	0	0			3
Narration						0		0
Ambiguity							5	5
Total	27	55	1	15	5	0	5	108
Total%	25	51	0.9	13.9	4.6	0	4.6	100

Table 10: Appraisal – direct forms of presentation

In comparison to the Headline and Lead, Appraisal shows an increased incidence of FDD (27, 25%) and especially DD (55, 51%). While overall the percentage of (F)DD has

<sup>46</sup> The difference between Appraisal referring to a type of satellite and appraisal referring to the system of evaluation is shown by capitalization of the former. Since the present work draws heavily on the writings by Iedema et al. (1994) and White (1998) with respect to the concept of reporter voice and generic structure, in the informal discussion of evaluative meaning their approach is given more space than the parameter approaches to evaluation (Lemke 1998, Bednarek 2006).

increased, the total occurrence of unambiguous combined forms (19.4%) has decreased. Also, the percentage of ambiguous forms is lower (4.6%) than in the Headline or Lead. However, it must be added that (F)DD prevails over combined forms in most satellites, including the major satellite types such as Elaboration or Contextualization. Still, Appraisal shows one of the greatest disproportion between (F)DD and combined forms. Another fact that points in a similar direction is the total absence of narration combined with a partial quote. The last point concerns the occurrence of less frequent forms, namely unambiguous direct thought (3) and combined free indirect speech (1), which have been totally absent in the Headline and Lead.

As mentioned, combined forms are outnumbered by (F)DD. Combined forms (as well as purely non-direct forms and narration) show an increased degree of reporting speaker's perspective, interpretation and influence on the content and form, so despite attribution the journalist's involvement is more strongly felt. Gruber (1993), working with the categories of reported language suggested by Leech and Short (1981), examines the connection between the dimension of overt responsibility for evaluation, the dimension of the degree of directness of evaluation and linguistic properties of utterances. Gruber (1993, 477-486) finds that direct discourse correlates with a high level of directness of evaluation affecting any individual or entity referred to in the reported element, and the responsibility for evaluation lies with the source of evaluation, i.e. the reported speaker. On the other hand, reported discourse with a higher degree of indirectness, e.g. NRDA(p), is a means of indirect evaluation and the responsibility lies already with the reporting speaker and reader, in dependence on the latter's reading position. The shift in directness and responsibility correlates with the shift in perspective. This agrees with the interpretative nature of non-direct reports in terms of content and, as argued by Gruber (1993, 480), the choice of the reporting verb (or other reporting signal); these aspects make non-direct/combined forms "obedient' to the author" and enable him to promote and enforce a particular attitude (Smirnova 2009, 99).<sup>47</sup>

Bednarek (2009) talks about the infusion of the engagement (i.e. attribution) meanings with the meanings of graduation (i.e. the degree of intensity or force), present e.g. in the series of reporting items *suspect – believe – to be convinced* or *suggest – state – insist* (Bednarek 2009, 113). Or, except attribution reporting signals often co-express affect (Bednarek 2009, 113-116), such as non-authorial *like*. Consequently, the reporting signal itself is the source of evaluative meaning. In the case of combined forms, the evaluative impact is further heightened by the selectivity aspect of the partial quote and its contextual incorporation in the

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<sup>47</sup> See e.g. Floyd (2000) for reporting verbs expressing bias in newspaper reports and Hunston (1995) for the role of context in conveying reporting speaker's positive, negative or neutral attitude towards the source of attribution.

largely summarizing and interpretative form. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that when talking about summarizing and interpretative function or degrees of directness of evaluation, we talk about grades rather than static points as well as the potential of a form to summarize. As argued by Hunston (1995), reporting speaker's attitude is triggered by the connotation of the chosen reporting verb but also many other contextual factors. Nevertheless, the potential of combined forms to imbue the evaluative content with layers of interpretation seems to correspond to their low occurrence in Appraisal satellites.<sup>48</sup> As shown below, combined forms often accompany (F)DD, which may validate the correctness of the reporter's interpretation.

The comparison of the number of Appraisal satellites (65) and the number of direct forms (108) shows that some satellites must necessarily contain more than one direct form. For this reason the presentation of the results will revolve around different kinds of evaluation and interaction between the forms of presentation rather than strictly respect the division into categories of reported language. The examples also contain the Headline or the Lead, as these refer to the evaluated point of disruption. Each satellite is specified by its place in the generic structure (e.g. S1); the differentiation from other satellites offering the same kind of specification (i.e. Appraisal) is ensured by the letter (A, B) and the order of occurrence of the satellite (Appraisal A) is indicated by the number (Appraisal A1, Appraisal A2). For more details see chapter 3.3 and mainly Appendix 1B.

The Lead in example 24 deals with an accident caused by an unknown person(s) intentionally dropping rocks from a bridge on the cars below. It shows the employment of the most frequent direct forms, namely (F)DD.

#### Example 24

##### Lead

<NRSAp>A DRIVER whose windscreen was smashed when a rock the size of a football was dropped from a bridge has spoken of <eINI>*her relief that she escaped injury.*

##### #S5/Appraisal A2

<DS><eINI>*It scared me a lot and made me* <eINRT>*realise* <eIIT>*how precious life is,*" <NRS>she said. <FDS><eINI>*I am scared that I may never have come home to my children.*

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<sup>48</sup> The journalist can also trigger affective response of the reader to the source of attribution by the choice of a referring expression, which is however, a part of narration. In hard news the positive or negative attitude may be a result of the interaction between the referring expression and the reported content rather than a directly evaluating means of reference. Furthermore, in the discussion we disregard the fact that the journalist bears the ultimate responsibility for the report as a whole, as well as for what was not but perhaps could have been reported.

#<FDS> “<e1NI>*I can’t understand how anybody would do something like that. They need to be caught.*” (App, 2A, DT50)

The evaluation is expressed by a sequence of direct speech (DS) and two instances of free direct speech (FDS) and exemplifies the most common realization. Looking at the kind of evaluative meaning, it provides the victim’s emotional response to the accident (*it scared me a lot, I’m scared, I can’t understand ...*) and a possible change in her set of values (*it made me realize how...*). In the system of appraisal (White 1998, 48-50, 145-148; Martin and White 2005, 45-52) evaluation by means of expressing feelings, stance and attitude corresponds to affect, indicating the degree of in/security, un/happiness and dis/satisfaction. In example 24 the feeling of fear and lack of understanding express the affective meaning of in/security, realized by non-direct forms of internal narration (e1NI) embedded at level one in the DS and FDS; the mental process of realization of life’s value is expressed by the indirect thought (e1IT) embedded in the DS.

Affect is also expressed in example 25. The Headline identifies the problem of the American Army being overstretched and tired because of their involvement in the missions in Afghanistan and Iraq. The Appraisal expresses the Army’s attitude to the situation.

#### Example 25

##### Headline

<NRS>General says <IS-q>Army nearly ‘**seized up**’ with too many missions

##### #S6/Appraisal A1

<NRS>He added<IS-q> that <e1NI-i>*the Army had “no desire” to go to war in Iraq in 2003 because it was already stretched by operations in Kosovo, Bosnia, Sierra Leone, Cyprus and Northern Ireland.*

#<FDS> “<e1NRT>*There may have been a little bit of professional feeling <e1IT-hi>that we should be doing this. <e1NI-i>But there was no desire to do it, <e1NRT>there was no <e1DT-hi>‘<e2NI-h>we would be happy to do it’ and <e1NRT>there was certainly a large element of <e1DT-i>‘we are very busy anyway so this will be difficult if we have to do it’.*” (App. 2C, I4)

Example 25 is a sequence of combined indirect speech (IS-q), and free direct speech (FDS). The sequence is based on the mutual interaction between the two forms and their corresponding functions: the IS-q, being more reporting speaker oriented, summarizes and

interprets the following FDS, which by being entirely reported speaker oriented and hence without the layer of interpretation acts to retrospectively reinforce and justify the correctness of the interpretation presented in the IS-q. Also, the IS-q selects for a partial direct quote the phrase that reappears in the FDS (*no desire*) and thus to an extent raises its significance. The way the IS-q (or any other non-direct or combined form) summarizes the FDS can to a great extent influence the way the FDS (or any other direct form) is perceived and understood. As the FDS simultaneously rhetorically supports and provides evidence for the summarizing form, such sequences create close-knit functional units whose rhetorical strength lies in their mutual reinforcement (viz Smirnova 2009).

As in example 24, the ultimate source of affect (the category of un/happiness) is internal narration (e1NI-i, *no desire*), embedded in the IS-q and FDS. In contrast to example 24, the source of the host FDS (general Dannatt) is different from the embedded e1NI-i (the Army), which must be interpreted as inferred (-i). Except the internal narration, the FDS further embeds inferred indirect thought (*a feeling that we should...*, e1IT-hi), two instances of inferred direct thought (*'we would be happy...'*, e1DT-hi; *'we are very busy...'*, e1DT-i) and inferred internal narration embedded at level two (e2NI-h). The hypothetical status suggests that the thought is either a possibility (*may have been a feeling that* in e1IT-hi) or was not formed at all (*no would be happy to do it* in e1DT-hi, e2NI-h). The shift in the deictic centre and in the perspectivisation from the reporting to the reported speaker found in the IS-q and FDS is also present in the embedded thought forms. The shift from the embedded internal narration to the embedded direct thought is accompanied by strengthening in orientation to the reported speaker, his deictic centre and perspective. Of course, due to the nature of the report (hypothetical inferred direct thought) reported speaker's perspective cannot be equalled with (close to) verbatim reproduction and the reporting speaker assumes (general Dannatt) the role of the omniscient narrator.

Example 26 shows another kind of evaluative meaning, namely appreciation, which evaluates entities, products and processes (White 1998, 55-56; Martin and White 2005, 56-58). The Lead draws attention to the newsworthy event of introducing technology to improve health care at patients' homes after a study proved its efficiency.



## Example 26

### Lead

<N>Million of patients are to have hi-tech NHS monitoring devices installed in their home after <NRW//N>a study showed <IW//N><sup>49</sup>that the technology almost halved their risk of dying.

### #S8/Appraisal A1

<NRS>Nick Goodwin, a senior fellow of the King's Fund health charity, said <IS-q>that the results could turn out to be a **"watershed moment"** for the technology. <DS>**"It could be that<e1NRTA-hi> people will look back in five year (sic) and<e1NRT> think, <e1DT-hi> 'What were we doing before we had this?'** It's like **hole-in-the-wall machines in banks,**" <NRS>he said. <FDS>**"It's enormously ambitious — but why not?"** (App. 2D, T31)

The Appraisal evaluates in the form of IS-q, DS with embedded e1DT-hi, and finally FDS the importance of the results for the introduction of monitoring devices and the impact the technology could have on people's lives. The results are evaluated as *a watershed moment* in the IS-q and the whole project as *enormously ambitious* in the FDS, expressing a dimension of appreciation referred to as valuation (Martin and White 2005, 56). The reported speaker, Nick Goodwin, is a source of authority and lends prestige and reliability to the evaluation. The apposition (*a senior fellow of the King's Fund health charity*) adds the evaluative meaning of warrantability to the prediction expressed by the neutral verb (*say*) in a wave of "evaluative prosody" in which a source of evaluation loads adjacent discourse with evaluative meaning (Bednarek 2006, 209-210). The phenomenon of evaluative prosody is comparable to Lemke's "evaluative propagation", distribution of evaluation within and across sentence and clause boundaries (Lemke 1998, 47). Evaluative propagation in which evaluation spreads from the source of attribution to the attributed content is referred to as "projective evaluation" and functions both heteroglossically (i.e. the reader will assume a member of the mentioned organisation is a source of credibility) and text-internally, i.e. the source of attribution is an expert on the issues referred to in the reported clause (Lemke 1998, 51-52).

However, the reported speaker also presents his opinion by means of reference to the views of the general public expressed by the embedded inferred hypothetical non-direct and direct thought (*people will look back...* e1NRTA-hi, and *'What were we doing before we had*

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<sup>49</sup> It is unclear whether the verb *show* indicates a verbal or non-verbal act. In Bednarek's (2006, 42) classification of evaluative parameters, the first interpretation falls into the category of 'hearsay', the second into the category of 'evidence', both expressing the meaning of evidentiality. In Martin and White's (2005, 98) treatment, both are part of the system of 'engagement', but whereas the verbal act falls into the category of 'attribute', the non-verbal into the category of 'proclaim'.

*this?*’ e1DT-hi) and thus lets people speak for himself. This is especially important as the innovative techniques are intended primarily for the public and positive evaluation from the final, though hypothetical, beneficiary may legitimize its introduction. The reporting speaker uses the alleged public’s opinion to support his own view, in which case a direct form of report is most convenient as it is presented from the perspective of the reported speaker of the embedded form – the public. Also, the combination of direct presentation with the inferred thought may make the impression that the reporting speaker understands what people think or want. The strategy of presenting one’s opinion by means of coating it as the point of view of the others’ results in a merger of voices in the real and hypothetical worlds involving simultaneously identification with and distance from the ideas expressed.<sup>50</sup>

The Headline in example 27 deals with the problem of British taxpayers’ money being spent on private school fees for the children of diplomats. A Labour MP Gloria de Piero criticised this practice in written questions to the government, reported in the Appraisal satellite in the form of direct writing (DW) followed by a free direct writing (FDW) across a paragraph boundary. As in other satellites, in Appraisal (F)DW is less frequent than (F)DS.

#### Example 27

##### Headline

<N>Taxpayers’ £15m bill for diplomats’ private school fees

##### Lead

<N>The taxpayer is spending more than £15m a year to send the children of British diplomats and military officers to private schools such as Fettes, Winchester, Roedean and Marlborough....

##### #S7/Appraisal A1/Wrap-up

<NRW>De Piero said: <DW>“<e1NRT>*Expecting the taxpayer <e1IT-h>to pay the public school fees for the children of civil servants who are based in the UK is simply a luxury we cannot afford.*

#<FDW>“**At a time when the coalition’s cuts are threatening the education of the many, there can be no justification for this huge subsidy for the few. In this age of austerity, when public services are being cut, it cannot be right that we continue to spend these huge sums on private education. <e1NRT//N>Ministers must urgently look at<e1IT-h//N>how to reduce this bill.**” (App. 2B, G3)

<sup>50</sup> Smirnova (2009, 95) mentions appeal to public opinion and analogy (in example 26 to ATM) as two strategies employed for argumentation in newspaper discourse.

The evaluative items in DW (*a luxury we cannot afford*) and FDW (*no justification for ..., it cannot be right that...*) appraise the issue from a moral point of view, passing judgement within the system of accepted norms of right and wrong. In the system of appraisal, it corresponds to propriety and ethics of human behaviour, included within a broader type of evaluation, namely judgement of social sanction (White 1998, 145-153; Martin and White 2005, 52-6). Interestingly, what is evaluated as unaffordable luxury is not that the public is made to pay for civil servants but only its mere expectation (*Expecting the taxpayer to pay ...*). Consequently, the problem is not construed as a fact but only as something within the scope of thought, realized by embedded indirect thought (e1IT-h). Furthermore, the indirect thought is not explicitly attributed to any specific source and could be conceived as a hypothetical possibility, paraphrasable as *When/if someone expects...*, although the element of hypotheticality may be weaker than in examples 25 and 26 (e.g. Herman 1994, 240-241). The embedded e1IT-h can function as a hedging device, making the evaluation softer and less direct.

The Appraisal satellite is the final satellite in the generic structure. The combination of evaluation and finality makes it a potential source of closure, the interpersonal kind of wrap-up (White 1998, 295-296). In fact, Appraisal is the most common satellite functioning as wrap-up (Urbanová 2012c). In example 27 the Appraisal evaluates negatively the elements in the nucleus, the disequilibrium to the status quo, and thus further reinforces its disconcerting nature, acting alongside the nucleus as a second peak of interpersonal prominence. Moreover, in the FDW the reported speaker makes an appeal to those who could rectify the situation (*Ministers must urgently look at how to reduce this bill*) and calls for a solution, resolution possibly leading to the reinstatement of equilibrium, corresponding to the ideational kind of wrap-up (White 1998, 295-296). The ambiguity between the embedded indirect thought and narration was postulated on account of the uncertainty as to the nature of the hypothetical process – mental or material. Looking at the issue from the point of view of voice and heteroglossia, the opinion must be understood as pertaining to one individual and being one of many. Thus it complies with the requirement of impersonal treatment as well as solidarity with other voices. Still, however, as it closes off the news report it simultaneously rejects these other possible interpretations and promotes the view that the event in the nucleus is something that is not desirable and has to be eradicated.

Example 28, dealing with an attack on Afghan civilians for which the Taliban was blamed, is based solely on combined forms of presentation. Appraisal A1 evaluates the attack

negatively in the form of combined indirect speech (IS-q) and Appraisal B1 by means of two instances of combined narrator's representation of speech act with topic (NRSAp-q). The IS-q draws attention to the Taliban's expected awareness of the potential victims being civilians (e1IT-h) and the NRSAp-q classifies the action as murder, judging it along the dimension of social sanction and moral values. Since they both provide negative evaluation of the incident, they were marked as participating in a concurring sequence – a sequence of adjacent satellites that supply pieces of information which are in agreement rather than disagreement. The agreement is supported by the conjunct *also* in Appraisal B1 and is indicated by the sequence of three tildes.

#### Example 28

##### Headline

<NRSAp>Taliban blamed for roadside bomb which killed 25 Afghan civilians on bus

# ##CONCURRING SEQUENCE (S3-4)

##### S3/Appraisal A1

<NRS>A provincial official <IS-q>told the BBC that the road the bus was travelling along was “mostly used by civilians and <e1NRT>*the enemies of peace should have known <e1IT-h>that a bus does not carry police or army but villagers*”.

# ~ ~ ~

##### S4/Appraisal B1

<NRSAp-q>A Nato spokesman also condemned the Taliban for the “**tragic murder of Afghan civilians**”, <NRSAp-q>calling it “**an example of <e1NRS>Mullah Omar's orders to his subordinates <e1IS>to capture or kill innocent civilians <e1NRSAp//N>who support the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan**”. (App. 2C, I12)

In comparison to the combined forms in examples 25 and 26, which were used with (F)DD and in which the direct quote was just a few words in length (*no desire, watershed moment*), the partial quotes in example 28 are more extensive. Even in the absence of (F)DD and its rhetorical support, their length is sufficient enough to lay bare the perspective of the reported speakers and their negative judgment of the action. The verb (*condemn*) in the first NRSAp-q directly evaluates negatively the attack and also positively the organization (Nato) and the system of values it represents. The positive evaluation is triggered by the interaction between the reporting verb, the reported content and the reader's position: the condemnation of an action judged generally morally or ethically unacceptable puts the evaluator in a positive

light. Evaluation generated by the reader on the basis of judging the reported content against cultural and social values is comparatively more indirect (Gruber 1993, 484). In Lemke's (1998, 49-53) terms, it propagates "retrospectively" from the reporting verb and reported content and spreads backwards to the source of attribution. The conjunct *also* may be another source of retrospective evaluation, leading the reader to retrospectively interpret or reinforce the illocutionary force of the neutral verb (*say*) in the IS-q in Appraisal A1 as an act of condemnation, explicitly expressed in the NRSAp-q in Appraisal B1.

Now attention will be turned to direct forms which appear in combination with non-direct forms. The results are summarized in Table 11.

Appraisal: direct forms in combination with non-direct (+N)								
Satellites/61	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	17	56	1	4	7			85
Writing	0	4	0	0	0			4
Thought	0	3	0	0	1			4
Narration						0		0
Ambiguity							1	1
Total	17	63	1	4	8	0	1	94
Total %	18.1	67	1.1	4.2	8.5	0	1.1	100

Table 11: Appraisal – direct forms of presentation accompanied by non-direct forms

With the exception of ID-q and NRDAp-q the relative frequency of the individual direct forms occurring with and without non-direct forms is comparable. DD (67%) is the most frequent form but in percentage terms outnumbers DD (51%) occurring without non-direct forms. FDD (18.1%) is the second most frequent but in percentage terms is outnumbered by FDD (25%) without non-direct forms. Compared to NRDAp-q (4.6%) and ID-q (13.9%) without non-direct forms, the relative frequency of NRDAp-q (8.5%) and ID-q (4.2%) occurring with non-direct forms is reversed. FID-q (1.1%) occurs least frequently and shows a comparable frequency with FID-q (0.9%) in Table 10. No instance of N-q appears in any of the Appraisal satellites. Now focus will be placed on the forms which have not been discussed yet and the interaction between direct and non-direct forms.

Example 29 illustrates the least frequent category, namely combined free indirect speech (FIS-q). The Lead refers to an inquiry during which it is revealed that the British troops in Iraq were undermanned due to Tony Blair's decision to involve them in the operations in Afghanistan. Appraisal B1 evaluates the decision.

## Example 29

### Headline

<FIS//IS>Blair brought military close to seizing up, <NRS>says ex-army chief

### Lead

<FIS-q//IS-q>Tony Blair bounced military commanders into deploying large numbers of British troops to Afghanistan while they were facing a growing insurgency in Iraq, leaving the army close to “**seizing up**”, <NRS> the Chilcot inquiry was told yesterday.

### #S2/Appraisal A1

...<NRS>Dannatt,..., told the Chilcot inquiry: <DS>“...”

### #S3/Appraisal B1

<FIS-q><eINRT>*The decision <eIIT-i>to send British UK troops to Helmand was “reasonable” when <eINRTA-i>it was taken in 2004, <NRS>he said. <FIS//N>However, the situation had changed by 2006 when security in southern Iraq had deteriorated.*

(App. 2B, G14)

In accordance with its position on the scale of directness being adjacent to (F)DD, the perspective expressed in the FIS-q is still largely oriented towards the reported speaker (general Dannatt). As indicated in the excerpt, the FIS-q continues the perspective already established by the DS in Appraisal A1 in the preceding satellite (S2). The word selected for the partial quote (*reasonable*), evaluating Blair’s decision in 2004 to send troops to Afghanistan, is an instance of appreciation. However, the evaluation does not cease with the FIS-q but for the whole satellite to work the FIS-q must be interpreted together with the following non-direct form, a free indirect speech ambiguous with narration (FIS//N), suggesting indirectly that the decision may not have been reasonable or appropriate in 2006 after the situation changed. The conjunct (*however*) signals contrast, which may or may not be accompanied by a change in perspective, the source of discourse and hence a possible change from projection to narration. As long as the stretch of discourse is compatible with both perspectives – that of the narrator and reported speaker, the double interpretation is possible. On the FIS interpretation, the form continues to present the perspective of the reported speaker; on the narration interpretation, the conjunct facilitates a shift in perspective and establishes a relation between the two perspectives/points of view (Sotirova 2004, 230; cf. Ehrlich 1990). The ambiguity results in blurring the boundaries between the perspective of the reported speaker and narrator (Fairclough 1988; Ikee 2007, 377).

A few comments need to be made on the embedded form. It refers to the source of disruption raised already in the nucleus, i.e. sending troops to Afghanistan, construed in Appraisal B1 as a mental process – indirect thought (*decision*, e1IT-i). Having been dealt with in the nucleus and Elaborated in S1, it now becomes the subject of evaluation and consequently appears embedded. Moreover, as the fact that the decision has been made and by whom is known, it is convenient to use a nominalised form. The situation is construed and evaluated as a static entity backgrounding the agent (*the decision was reasonable*) and is thus closer to appreciation than judgement, evaluating human behaviour (*Blair decided...*). Such cases have consequences for explicit assigning of responsibility and exploit close relations between the attitudes of affect, appreciation and judgment (e.g. White 1998, 153-154; Martin and White 2005, 58-61; Bednarek 2009). Bednarek (2009, 111, 118-119), advocating a topological (rather than typological) approach to evaluation, uses the concept of invoked appraisal to explain the interaction between two different sub-systems of evaluation: the inscribed evaluation of one type, here appreciation, invokes a different kind of evaluation, here judgment. In other words, the indirect judgment of human behaviour or activity (e.g. Blair decided reasonably) is “metonymically implicated” by the direct appreciation of its result (decision) (Bednarek 2009, 118). As shown, the form of the reporting signal (verbal versus nominal) may affect directness of evaluation. The last example to be discussed illustrates two Appraisals in a concessive sequence, functioning as wrap-up.

#### Example 30

##### Headline

<N>Passengers face levy on ticket in case airline goes bust

##### Lead

<N>PLANE passengers could face a £1 levy on tickets to pay for a scheme to get holidaymakers home when an airline collapses.

##### # ## CONCESSIVE SEQUENCE (S8-9) /Wrap-up

##### S8/Appraisal A1

<NRSaP>The moves were welcomed by passenger groups.

#<NRS>A spokesman for the Air Transport Users Council said: <DS>“<e1NRT>*We believe* <e1IT-i>*there is a need for a universal scheme which would include protection for when a scheduled airline went bust. A levy would be the most practical way of doing this.*”

#                      xxx

##### S9/Appraisal B1

<NRS>British Airways <IS>said it would resist such a levy. <DS>**“We are a well established airline and it would be unfair if our customers had to fund compensation for those who choose to travel on less established airlines,”** <NRS>a spokesman said.

(App. 2A, DT4)

The nucleus introduces a possibility of plane passengers having to pay more for their tickets. The voice in the first evaluative satellite, Appraisal A1, expresses agreement with and positive appreciation of the levy in the form of NRSAp (*welcomed*) and DS (“...*most practical way...*”). The NRSAp summarizes and points forward to the direct form, which is interpreted in the light of the initial interpretation and at the same time works to retrospectively support and justify it, providing evidence for the correctness of the summary. Besides the sequence of the summarizing NRSAp and particularizing DS, the increase in specification is also noticeable in the expressions referring to the source(s) of attribution in the respective forms – a general label *passenger groups* in the NRSAp is specified as *a spokesman for the Air Transport Users Council* in the DS. On the other hand, the voice of British Airways in Appraisal B1 expresses disagreement (*resist, unfair*). It relies on a similar pattern of forms, non-direct IS and direct DS, which supplies an explanation or arguments for the statement in the IS.

In comparison to example 28, due to the presence of contrast the two Appraisals form a concessive sequence (signalled by a sequence of three crosses). Placing together two contrasting opinions makes the impression of a more balanced and unbiased reporting, and to an extent may compensate for the lack of developed argumentation. Moreover, the whole sequence works as an interpersonal wrap-up. As mentioned, interpersonal wrap-up closes off a story by promoting a particular view and thus reduces the degree of recognition of and solidarity with diverse reading positions. In this case, however, although both Appraisals measure the event against some set of values and thus narrow down its interpretation, placing two opposing views alongside each other diminishes the conclusiveness of the wrap-up. In other words, instead of offering one interpretation and disregarding others the concessive sequence provides two different views. Although they provide closure, by drawing attention to different interpretations, they mitigate the restricting effect of wrap-up, presumably to accommodate different ideological positions.

As shown, Appraisal puts at risk the evaluative meanings of affect, appreciation and judgement. In order to meet the requirements of reporter voice and recognize multiplicity of voices, it relies on extra-vocalisation (White 1998, et passim). As for the forms of reported



language, the ratio of direct forms occurring with and without non-direct forms is slightly tilted towards the latter, and FDD and DD predominate over combined forms. The preference for (F)DD is related to the higher degree of directness of evaluation and subsequent lower degree of responsibility on the part of the journalist (Gruber 1993). On the other hand, as a result of summarization, the choice of the partial quote and possibly also a non-neutral reporting signal, combined forms tend to reflect the reporter's perception and understanding of the event. Except partial quotation similar issues arise with non-direct forms too. Evaluation may be inscribed (direct), i.e. inherent to a lexical item, or only invoked (implied, indirect) by more direct kinds of evaluation or triggered by the interplay between the reported content, the reporting signal and the set of cultural and moral values against which it operates. In these cases, evaluation is often left to be inferred by the reader himself.

Even though the relations between various direct, combined and (non-)embedded non-direct forms were not studied systematically and no conclusions can be made, the examined examples seem to point in a similar direction. (F)DD may provide elaboration on or rhetorical support to the preceding non-direct or combined forms. The sequences of non-direct or combined forms, and purely direct forms DD and FDD, found in examples 24-27 and 30, demonstrate a gradual increase in the subjectivity of the reported speaker with a shift from the reporting speaker's perspective to the reported speaker's perspective. This shift may cohere with the choice of referring expressions: general categorizing labels are substituted with more specific ones (example 30) and totally omitted in FDD.

Embedded non-direct forms may be instrumental in expressing evaluative meanings. For instance, embedded internal narration (e1NI) in examples 24 and 25 expresses the attitude of affect. Indirect thought introduces mental processes and often frames opinion (examples 24, 25, 27, 28 and 30), presenting the content not as factual, monoglossic but heteroglossic, confined to the subjectivity of one voice. The evaluative component in verbs reporting thought is noted by Lemke (1998, 37-38), who points out a close relation of verbs (and nouns, adjectives) expressing thought to the system of modality; for example epistemic meaning is covered in his evaluative parameters of warrantability/probability (*believe* in 30). These correspond to Bednarek's (2006, 42) parameters of mental state and/or evidentiality and/or reliability. Furthermore, IT (example 27) may serve to mitigate or hedge evaluation since what is evaluated may be construed not as a material event but as something belonging to the realm of thought. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 603-625) discuss similar examples from the point of view of interpersonal metaphor.

As a particle in the generic structure, Appraisal reaches back to the nucleus (orbital point of view) and in cooperation with other satellites participates in the creation of the wave-like pattern (periodic point of view) maintaining the interpersonally prominent nucleus in constant focus. However, relative to other satellite types the concentration of interpersonal meaning in Appraisal may be denser and more intensive, possibly forming additional peaks of interpersonal prominence, albeit of lesser importance than the peak in the nucleus and not coinciding with textual and ideational prominence. On the other hand, considering appraisal non-generically, its typical pattern of realisation is prosodic (continuous, non-discreet), manifested, for instance, in inscribed evaluation extending its scope and spreading to neutral portions of text, either prospectively or retrospectively (Hunston 1995; Lemke 1998, 49-53; Martin and White 2005, 19-24, 63-64; Bednarek 2006, 209-211; Bednarek 2009). The contexts supplying evaluation and the portions of text affected by evaluation in evaluative prosody may be e.g. the reported content, the speech act value or the reported speaker.

Disregarding the orbital structure, adjacent Appraisal satellites may be arranged in concurring or concessive sequences, also found within one satellite. Concurring sequences promote one particular view whereas concessive sequences juxtapose alternative viewpoints, make an impression of balanced reporting and contribute to the argumentative or debate-like character of the report. Furthermore, Appraisal is one of the most frequent wrap-ups. As wrap-up, it favours one particular point of view at the expense of others and thus closes off the dialogic space; wrap-up Appraisals in concessive sequences offer alternative opinions, reduce bias and thus respond more adequately to the potential need for heteroglossic background.

## 6.5 Elaboration

Elaboration ranks as the most frequently occurring satellite. As shown in Table 5, out of 588 Elaboration satellites, 301 (51.2%) are characterized by a total absence of direct forms of presentation, in 194 satellites (33%) direct forms occur with non-direct forms (and narration) and 93 (15.8%) rely only on direct forms (and narration). Thus Elaboration satellites featuring a total absence of direct forms are more dominant than those in Appraisal satellites but less than those in the Headline or Lead. In order to reflect the nature and role of Elaboration the discussion of direct forms will proceed along different lines and direct forms occurring with and without non-direct forms will be discussed together. On the other hand, more attention will be paid to the aspect of elaboration cycles, viz. the occurrence and role of

reported language will be assessed with respect to the order of the satellite in an Elaboration string (cycle). This approach can accommodate the cyclic and instalment-like presentation of information, germane to the hard news generic structure and most apparent precisely in Elaboration. First, however, a few comments will be made on the frequency of direct forms, summarized in Table 12.

Elaboration: Direct forms (+N)/Direct forms in combination with non-direct (+N)									
Satellites	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDA p-q	N-q	A	Tot	Tot
93/194									
Speech	18/48	50/131	1/2	34/39	8/16			111/236	347
Writing	2/5	2/14	0/0	3/9	1/6			8/34	42
Thought	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/4	2/2			3/6	9
Narration						2/3		2/3	5
Ambiguity							11/19	11/19	30
Total	20/53	52/145	1/2	38/52	11/24	2/3	11/19	<b>135/298</b>	433
Total %	14.8/17.8	38.5/48.7	0.7/0.7	28.1/17.4	8.2/8.0	1.5/1.0	8.2/6.4	100	
Total	73	197	3	90	35	5	30	433	
Total %	16.9	45.5	0.7	20.8	8.1	1.1	6.9	100	

Table 12: Elaboration – direct forms of presentation with and without non-direct forms

Table 12 shows all direct forms occurring in Elaboration satellites. In the total of 287 unambiguous satellites, there were 433 direct forms of presentation. In order to at least partially adhere to the style of presentation adopted for the direct forms in the nucleus and Appraisal, at least a quantitative distinction between direct forms with and without non-direct forms was made: the numbers before the slash correspond to direct forms occurring without non-direct forms; the numbers after the slash correspond to direct forms occurring with non-direct forms.

Since a high number of direct forms function in Elaboration satellites, proportionally the frequency of occurrence of the individual forms in Elaboration is comparable to the frequency of direct forms in Table 3, which does not take into account the distribution of direct forms in the nucleus-satellite structure. Speech (347) prevails over writing (42) and thought (9). Direct discourse (DD) is the most frequent (197, 45.5%), followed by indirect discourse with a partial quote (ID-q, 90, 20.8%), free direct discourse (FDD, 73, 16.9%), narrator's representation of speech act with a partially quoted topic (NRDAp-q, 35, 8.1%) and the least frequent partially quoted narration (N-q, 5, 1.1%) and free indirect discourse (FID-q, 3, 0.7%). As mentioned above, satellites which are only direct forms-based are less numerous,

which may explain the overall lower frequency of the respective direct forms (135) in comparison to direct forms (298) co-occurring in one satellite with non-direct forms. Also, in the latter case, the relative frequency of FDD (53) and ID-q (52) is more balanced. The total number of ambiguities (A) equals 30 (6.9%). Now attention will be paid to how Elaboration satellites work and how reported language contributes to their function in the generic structure.

Essentially, the hard news structure is characterised by radical editability, displaying cyclical presentation of information and frequent shifts in topics (satellites), which are brought up, dropped and picked up later in the text (White 1998, van Dijk 1988). Although this kind of presentation cuts across satellite types, it is most obvious in the case of Elaboration. As Table 13 below shows, Elaboration can occur only once in the generic structure (x1) or it can recur up to six times (x1-6) and create a string of Elaboration satellites developing jointly in cycles one topic from the nucleus. The letter x is used as a general label referring to any Elaboration (string). In one news report, there may be one or more Elaboration strings of variable length; the notation using letters and numbers reflects the participation of satellites in strings (e.g. a two-satellite string of Elaboration A1, A2; a three-satellite string of Elaboration B1, B2, B3 etc.).

The discussion will centre on complete strings and the role of reported language will be assessed vis-à-vis the overall number of satellites in the string and the place of a particular satellite in the Elaboration cycle/string. For this reason compound and ambiguous satellites participating in the creation of strings were also included. Admittedly, the inclusion of ambiguous satellites might lead to a partial distortion of results but their exclusion would pose problems too since it would generate incomplete Elaboration strings; a total exclusion of these strings would decrease the number of unambiguous satellites and skew the results as well. Moreover, there were only 24 ambiguous satellites in comparison to 629 unambiguous ones, including 41 compound satellites. In the more detailed discussion the number of ambiguous satellites and forms of reported language occurring in them will be always marked.

Elaboration strings: number of satellites				
Strings/322	Unambiguous Sat	Compound Sat	Ambiguous Sat	Sats Total
x1/132	118	7	7	132/20.2%
x1-2/109	204	9	5	218/33.4%
x1-3/41	104	15	4	123/18.8%
x1-4/25	86	7	7	100/15.3%
x1-5/10	48	2	0	50/7.7%
x1-6/5	28	1	1	30/4.6%
Sats Total	588	41	24	653/100%

Table 13: Elaboration strings

In total, there are 653 Elaboration satellites including 588 unambiguous satellites, 41 unambiguous compound satellites and 24 ambiguous satellites. A significant number of satellites is organized in two-satellite strings (x1-x2; 218, 33.4%) or appears in isolation, i.e. in one-satellite strings (x1; 132, 20.2%). The number of satellites forming three- and more-satellite strings decreases with the increase in the number of satellites per string: there are 123 (18.8%) satellites in three-satellite strings (x1-x3), 100 (15.3%) satellites in four-satellite strings (x1-x4), 50 (7.7%) satellites in five-satellite strings (x1-x5) and finally only 30 (4.6%) satellites in six-satellite strings (x1-x6).

Looking at the frequency of complete Elaboration strings (the *Strings* column in Table 13), the total number of strings is 322 and their frequency of occurrence is in inverse proportion to the number of satellites in the string. In other words, the longer the string is, the less frequent it is: there are 132 one-satellite strings, 109 two-satellite strings, 41 three-satellite strings, 25 four-satellite strings, 10 five-satellite strings and finally 5 six-satellite strings. The frequency of the individual satellite strings (and the satellites in them) suggests a tendency to repeatedly recur to the elements of the nucleus and Elaborate on them gradually in two- and more-satellite strings rather than to reveal the entire information at a time in a one-satellite string, which has the advantage of a more detailed presentation and mainly constant focus on the point of disruption. Although repetition is the staple of the orbital structure and especially Elaboration satellites, Elaboration strings containing three and more satellites are not relied upon so frequently, presumably due to limited length of the hard news story in general and the need to provide background or other additional information about the selected angle.

Now attention will be paid to the occurrence of direct forms in Elaboration strings. In the case of two- and more-satellite strings, a brief aside will also be made about the satellites

in which only non-direct forms or narration are employed. These will not represent the core discussion but will be touched upon in connection with the order of satellites in strings.

### 6.5.1 One-satellite Elaboration string

Out of the total of 132 satellites, 73(55.3%) lack any direct forms, 17 (12.9%) contain direct forms (and narration) and 42 (31.8%) contain direct forms occurring with non-direct forms. Table 14 below lists direct forms which appear without (22) and with (70) other non-direct forms. Free direct (15, 16.3%) and direct (49, 53.3%) forms prevail over non-direct forms combined with a partial quote, i.e. ID-q (13, 14.1%), NRDAp-q (10, 10.9%) and FID-q (1, 1.1%). As explained above, in order to be able to discuss Elaboration satellites with regard to their appearance in strings, ambiguous satellites and the forms of presentation in them were included in the data. Although this was not necessary for one-satellite strings, the strategy was maintained. The numbers in curly brackets refer to ambiguous satellites and the direct forms they contain. Ambiguous forms of direct reported language are also included (A).

	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Direct (+N) 16{1}	2	9{1}	0	3	4{1}	0	2	22
Direct+ non-D + (N) 41{1}	13	38{1}	1	10	5	0	2	70
Total	15	49	1	13	10	0	4	92
Total %	16.3	53.3	1.1	14.1	10.9	0	4.3	100

Table 14: Direct forms of presentation in a one-satellite Elaboration string

The following examples illustrate how direct forms of presentation work in Elaboration satellites and how they combine with other direct or non-direct forms. For the reason of economy, only those sections of the nucleus relevant to the discussion will be adduced. The Lead in example 31 focuses on new measures resulting in high costs paid by workers wanting to take their employer to an industrial tribunal as well as the negative evaluation of the measures, reported as NRSAp. The negative reception is indicated by the reported content (*denial of justice*) and the choice of the reporting verb (*condemn*).

### Example 31

#### Lead

<N>Workers could pay more than £2,300 to take an employer to an industrial tribunal under new measures <NRSAp>that were last night condemned as a denial of justice for the lowest paid.

#### #S6/Elaboration B1

<N>But<NRS> Brendan Barber, head of the TUC, said <IS-q>it would “**prevent the poorest and most vulnerable workers from ever being able to get justice**”. (App. 2C, I26)

The act of condemnation – or the way the utterance is to be understood, is repeated in Elaboration B1 in the form of IS-q. In this case, the reporting verb is neutral (*said*); the key elements from the Lead (*the lowest paid* and *denial of justice*) recur in Elaboration B1 as a partial quote (*the poorest and most vulnerable workers* and *ever being able to get justice*). The switch from NRSAp in the Lead to IS-q in Elaboration B1 is accompanied by the specification of the source of attribution in the latter (*Brendan Barber, head of the TUC*) as well as the change in perspective from the reporting speaker closer to the reported speaker since not only is the IS-q a less condensed form than the NRSAp but a considerable part of it is also partially quoted and thus re-enacting the perspective of the reported speaker.

Example 32 is an issues report based on the statements of two conflicting sides. There is a two-paragraph Lead: the first paragraph calls attention to an inappropriately high sum of money paid by a hospital to its chief executive and specifies the reaction of health workers’ unions; the second paragraph, not relevant for the discussion and thus omitted, offers the opposite side of the argument, the hospital’s defence of the decision.

### Example 32

#### Headline

<N>NHS trust chief cost £2,500 a day

#### Lead

<NV>Health workers’ unions expressed <NI-i>anger yesterday <N>after <NRS//N>it emerged<sup>51</sup> <IS//N> that a temporary chief executive had cost a struggling hospital trust more than £2,500 a day, plus almost £20,000 in expenses.

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<sup>51</sup> The ambiguity between indirect speech and narration reflects the indeterminate status of the verb *emerge* and its capacity to report an undisputable language event. For instance, in the classification by Bednarek (2006, 42) “hearsay” and “mindsay”, i.e. language and thought reports, have the function of evidentiality, also performed by “unspecific” evidentials like *emerge*. Although there may be a difference between hearsay/mindsay and

...

## #S2/Elaboration B1

<NRSAp-q>Unison spokeswoman Tanya Palmer called the figures “**absolutely outrageous**”,  
<NRS>adding: <DS>**Most nurses will be earning about £1,800 a month after tax, and** <e1NI-hi>*to see someone earning hundreds of pounds more than that in a single day will be galling.*”  
(App. 2B, G16)

Elaboration B1 recycles and further specifies the reaction of one particular union, Unison. The minimal forms of speech (NV) and thought (NI-i) reporting health unions’ anger in the Lead correspond to the NRSAp-q in Elaboration B1, with the evaluative phrase (*absolutely outrageous*) quoted directly. Whereas the evaluation in the Lead relates to unions and is a kind of affect (*anger*), the evaluation in the Elaboration relates to the amount of money and is a kind of appreciation. The DS in Elaboration B1 draws a comparison with a regular nurse and evokes to some extent their perspective by means of an embedded inferred internal narration (*galling*, e1NI-hi) expressing affective evaluation. As the internal narration is also a prediction, it is tagged as hypothetical. Evoking the voice of the regular nurse is effective since it is the side on whose behalf the union speaks.

As in example 31, there is a gradual shift in perspective from the reporting to the reported speaker. The problematic issue summarized in minimal forms of presentation (NV, NI-i) in the Lead is Elaborated on by means of less summarizing forms (NRSAp-q, DS). The shift in perspective comes with the change in the referring expression, namely from the more general category of *workers’ unions* in NV to one specific individual, *Tanya Palmer*, in NRSAp-q and DS. Contrary to example 31, the interpersonal meanings expressed in the Lead and Elaboration B1 are related but not identical – the appreciation (*outrageous*) in the Elaboration can serve as a basis for the inferred affect (*anger*). The forms capture different aspects of the situation but by maintaining the so-called evaluative cohesion (Lemke 1998) they allow to establish a link between the Lead and Elaboration.

The following example illustrates the way direct forms combine in Elaboration satellites with non-direct forms and narration. The Headline and Lead in Example 33, also an issues report, reports on a revelation that Tony Blair was warned of the possibility that Iraq did not possess weapons of mass destructions.

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unspecific evidentials in terms of the source of the proposition, they both comment on its truth value (Bednarek 2006, 53-54).



### Example 33

#### Headline

<N-q><NRSAp>Blair ‘warned of WMD evidence’

#### Lead

<FIS//IS><e1NRS>TONY BLAIR was warned weeks before the invasion of Iraq <e1IS> that there might not be any weapons of mass destruction, <NRS>the head of the United Nations weapons inspectors claimed yesterday.

#### #S2/Elaboration A1

<N>However, in the weeks leading up to the invasion in March 2003 after the inspectors had failed to uncover anything significant, <NRS>Dr Blix <IS>said<e1NRS> he cautioned Mr Blair <e1IS>that there might not be anything.

#<NRS>He said <IS><e1NRS>he told Mr Blair: <e1DS>“Wouldn't it be paradoxical if you were to invade Iraq with 250,000 men and find very little?”

<NRS>He added: <DS>“<e1NRS>I gave a warning <e1IS>that things had changed and there might not be so much.” (App. 2A, DT5)

In the Headline, the warning is presented in the form of narration combined with a partial quote (N-q) and narrator’s representation of speech act (NRSAp). The partial quote draws attention to the speech act value (*warned*) and the content of the NRSAp. The Lead reports the same information in less space-saving forms: the warning changes from NRSAp to an indirect speech (e1IS); the source of attribution absent from the Headline (N-q) is specified in the Lead in the host FIS//IS form (*the head of the United Nations weapons inspectors*). The reference to the position of authority increases the warrantability of the information and thus the gravity and significance of the situation, justifying its nuclear status.

The embedded/ing structure found in the Lead recurs in the first paragraph of the Elaboration: the warning is reported as embedded indirect speech (e1IS, *he cautioned Mr Blair...*) contained in the host category of another IS (*Dr Blix said...*), referring to the recent claim of Mr Blix. The recent revelation of the warning is reported once more but this time in the form of host indirect speech (IS, *he said ...*) and embedded direct speech (e1DS, “*Wouldn't it be paradoxical if...?*”), re-enacting Dr Blix’s question directed at Mr Blair. The speech act value, which might not be obvious without the clarifying context, is again expressly stated in the following DS (*He added...*) embedding an indirect speech (e1IS) with a nominalised reporting signal (*warning*). This satellite illustrates a case where not only the nucleus and Elaboration are very close both in terms of content and the expressed speech act

value but there is a noticeable resemblance between non-direct and direct forms of presentation within the Elaboration satellite itself. Moreover, the sequence of N-q, NRSap, IS and FIS//IS in the nucleus and the (e1)ISs and the (e1)DSs in Elaboration A1 demonstrates a rise in the reported speaker's subjectivity on the transition from the nucleus to the satellite and within the satellite itself. The repetition of the point of impact is essential to the functionality of hard news since the reiterated information and key phrases remain in focus, especially if amplified by gradual strengthening of the reported speaker's perspective.

The examples discussed so far show a close correspondence between the content and/or forms in the nucleus and satellite. This is, however, not a universal phenomenon and Elaboration satellites may not be mirror images of their nuclei. An Elaboration satellite may provide background information and digress to an extent from the nuclear theme (and from the ideal prototype of the Elaboration satellite). The extra information does not change the satellite's relation to the nucleus and its rhetorical function but may affect the way the rest of the Elaboration is received by the reader. The digression may take the form of narration or non-direct forms of presentation, and much less frequently combined or direct forms of presentation. For examples see e.g. App. 2A, DT2 (Elaboration A1, S1), App. 2A, DT22 (Elaboration B1, S3), App. 2B, G1 (Elaboration B1+C1, S2), App. 2B, G27 (Elaboration B1, S4 and B2, S5).

Example 34 shows an identical event (an airplane accident) communicated in different modes in the nucleus and Elaboration.

Example 34

### Headline

<N>Poor weather may have driven plane off-course

# ##CONCURRING SEQUENCE (S4)

### S4/Elaboration C1

<NRS>The Pakistan Airline Pilot Association told Associated Press <IS>the plane may have strayed off course, possibly because of the poor weather. ~ ~ ~ <NRS>Several officials noted <IS>that it seemed to be an unusual distance from the airport, some 9½ miles away. <DS>**"It should not have gone so far,"** <NRS>said Air Vice-Marshal Riazul Haq, deputy chief of the Civil Aviation Authority. <FDS>**"<e1NI-i>We want to find out why it did."**

(App, 2B, G8)

The Headline, suggesting bad weather as a possible cause of the accident, is construed as narration. The Elaboration, despite using similar or identical lexis (*poor weather, stray/drive a plane off course*), relies on forms of attribution forming a concurring sequence: non-direct (IS) and direct forms (DS, FDS). As in the above examples, the second voice in the concurring sequence is revealed with a gradual increase in the reported speaker's deictic subjectivity via the summarizing IS with a general referring expression (*several officials*) and the (F)DS with a specified source (*Air Vice-Marshal Riazul Haq, deputy chief of the Civil Aviation Authority*) and no interference by the reporter.

Even though the Headline is in the form of narration and thus originates with the journalist, it is not entirely monoglossic due to the presence of the possibility modal (*may*). The modal indicates low value of epistemic modality and presents the cause of the accident with a lower degree of reliability, reflecting the incomplete knowledge of facts at the time the report was published (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 620-621). Simultaneously, and essentially for that reason, the modal verb indicates that this position is one of many and engages in dialogue with other alternatives. Since the proposition reiterated in the Elaboration is construed as a report, its validity is confined only to the subjectivity of the reported speaker. Thus even though the nucleus and Elaboration do not correspond in terms of forms of presentation, they both provide heteroglossic backdrop and are coherent in the approach to the source of the disequilibrium. Interestingly, even though the Headline makes space for other interpretations, these are not provided.

The above examples have shown that due to the reiterative character of Elaboration there can be a considerable overlap in terms of content, speech act value and key phrases (examples 31 and 33, to an extent 32). Also, the nucleus-Elaboration pair can evince similarity in terms of embedding, if present (example 33). Although a certain degree of overlap is common, it is by no means found in all satellites and the differences may concern content or the choice between narration and projection (example 34). The examined Elaboration satellites relied on less summative forms (DD, FDD) with a potential to reveal the reported speaker's subjectivity to a greater extent than the forms in the nucleus (minimal, NRDA(p), ID). The gradual increase in the reported speaker's subjectivity (or decrease in the reporting speaker's subjectivity, interference and interpretation) was accompanied by an increase in the particularity of the referring expression (examples 31-33) and was attested not only in the transition from the nucleus to Elaboration but also within the satellite itself (examples 32-34). Admittedly, the surge in reported speaker's subjectivity cannot be expected in Elaboration satellites which do not contain combined or pure direct forms of presentation

(but which are beyond the scope of the paper), and/or where direct forms appear already in the nucleus, which is rather infrequent. Now let us turn to two-satellite Elaboration strings.

### 6.5.2 Two-satellite Elaboration string

Out of the total of 218 Elaboration satellites forming 109 two-satellite strings, 109 satellites (50%) were based entirely on non-direct forms and/or narration, 39 (17.9%) contained one or more direct forms (and narration) and in 70 (32.1%) satellites direct forms co-occurred with non-direct forms. Table 15 shows the distribution of the three satellite types across the Elaboration string, i.e. their occurrence in either satellite one (x1) or satellite two (x2). Again, the numbers in curly brackets indicate ambiguous Elaboration satellites.

Satellites {ambiguous}	x1	x2	Total
Direct forms only (+N)	18	20{1}	39
Direct forms + Non-D (+N)	23	44{3}	70
(Non-Direct) + (A) + (N)	67{1}	41	109
Total	109	109	218

Table 15: Forms of presentation and narration in a two-satellite Elaboration string

As shown in Table 15, satellites which lack direct forms function more frequently as the first satellite in the string: out of 109 x1 satellites, 67 (and one ambiguous satellite) are non-direct form or narration based. On the other hand, the second member of the string is more frequently realized by a satellite containing either only direct forms (20 and 1 ambiguous satellite) or direct forms co-occurring with non-direct ones (44 and 3 ambiguous satellites). The way direct forms (and narration) with and without non-direct forms and non-direct forms/narration may combine in two-satellite Elaboration strings will be examined later. Now a few comments will be made on the frequency of occurrence of direct forms. For the sake of simplification, the distinction between direct forms appearing with and without non-direct forms (and narration) is disregarded and focus is placed on their occurrence in the first or second satellite in the Elaboration string.

Direct forms (+ Non-D) (+N) satellites	FDD/ %	DD/ %	FID-q/ %	ID-q/ %	NRDAp-q/ %	N-q/ %	A/ %	Total/ %
x1 /41	5/9.2	21/38.9	2/3.7	15/27.8	7/13	2/3.7	2/3.7	54/100
x2/ 64{4}	20/19.8	48{3}50.5	0	17/16.8	6{1}6.9	0	6/6	97{4}100
Total 105{4}	25	69{3}	2	32	13{1}	2	8	151{4}

Table 16: Direct forms of presentation in a two-satellite Elaboration string

Table 16 summarizes the occurrence of direct and combined forms in the first and second satellite of the string. As shown in Table 15, direct forms in general are preferred in the second satellite. Moreover, the relative frequencies and the percentage of the individual forms in the first and second satellite also differ. Excluding ambiguous (A) forms of presentation (but including forms in ambiguous satellites), in the first member of the Elaboration string, the frequency of occurrence is as follows: DD (38.9%), ID-q (27.8%), NRDAp-q (13%), FDD (9.2%), and FID-q/N-q (3.7%). In the second member of the Elaboration string, the frequency of occurrence is different: DD (50.5%), FDD (19.8%), ID-q (16.8%), NRDAp-q (6.9%) and FID-q/N-q (0%).

On the whole, the first Elaboration satellite relies on combined forms more than the second. In x1 the proportion of unambiguous (free) direct forms (48.1%) and combined forms (48.2%) is balanced, whereas in x2 unambiguous (F)DD (70.3%) prevails over unambiguous combined forms (23.7%). In x1 both ID-q and NRDAp-q are more frequent than FDD, a situation reversed in the second satellite. Also their frequency is higher in the first satellite (27.8% ID-q, 13% NRDAp-q) than in the second (16.8% ID-q, 6.9% NRDAp-q), whereas the proportion of DD (38.9%) and FDD (9.2%) in the first satellite is lower than their proportion in the second satellite (50.5% DD and 19.8% FDD). This seems to suggest that the first satellites are more summative and interpretative than the second members in the string, where the distribution of direct forms points to a greater degree of specification based on the perspective of the reported speaker. Thus the sequence of forms across the satellite string seems parallel to the common sequence of non-direct, combined and purely direct forms within a satellite. Nevertheless, Table 16 does not make any distinction regarding possible combinations of direct/combined forms and the order of the satellite in the string. This question is addressed in greater detail in Table 17.

In the discussion of one-member Elaboration strings focus was placed primarily on the relation between the nucleus and the satellite and the forms of presentation employed in them. In more-satellite strings, focus will be shifted from the nucleus-satellite relation to the

employment and interaction of forms across the string. Out of 218 Elaboration satellites and 109 two-member strings, 58 satellites forming 29 strings were realized entirely by non-direct forms and/or narration. These will not be discussed here and attention will be paid to those strings in which at least one satellite contains any direct form of presentation. Ten satellites, i.e. 5 complete strings, were based only on direct forms of presentation (and narration), totalling 13 direct forms. This case is illustrated by the following example.

#### Example 35

##### Headline

<NRS>Union boss warns <IS>strikes may return in new year

##### Lead

<FIS//IS>The new year will bring a fresh round of strikes over pensions, pay and job cuts, <NRS>a senior official for one of Britain's largest trade unions warned yesterday.

##### S1/Elaboration A1

<FIS-q//IS-q>Private-sector workers, *<e1NI-i>emboldened by recent industrial action by the public sector over pensions*, will begin **"kicking back"** against compulsory redundancies, bringing about a **"resurgence in the traditional strength of the unions"**, <NRS>said Brian Stratton, a leading moderate in the GMB union.

##### #S3/Elaboration A2

<DS>**"Next year we will have pretty well run out of those *<e1NRSAp-h//N>who would volunteer for redundancy so you start getting into compulsory redundancies. That is when your members start kicking back,*"** <NRS>Mr Stratton added. (App. 2C, I37)

The Headline and Lead present a warning of a new round of strikes in the form of indirect speech (IS) and free indirect speech ambiguous with indirect speech (FIS//IS) respectively. The movement from the nucleus to Elaboration and especially across the Elaboration string exemplifies a gradual shift in perspective from the reporting to the reported speaker via the sequence of non-direct, combined and purely direct forms of presentation. In Elaboration A1, the ambiguous form FIS-q//IS-q repeats the warning and retains a part of the original wording (*kicking back*), its metaphorical and stylistic character; in addition, it predicts a rise in the unions' strength, again in the form of a partial quote (*resurgence in the traditional strength of the unions*). In Elaboration A2, one of phrases selected for a partial quote in the preceding satellite (*kicking back*) is repeated in the context of a more complete DS. Also, the phrase *compulsory redundancies*, which is not given the status of direct quote in

Elaboration A1, is quoted directly in Elaboration A2, showing the selectivity of partial quotes. Thus the pattern found in one-satellite Elaborations has been extended to span over two satellites, and is also manifested in the choice of the referring expressions: the professional status (*union boss, a senior official for...*) in the nucleus amplifies the social impact and gravity of the situation, whereas the proper name (with and without an apposition in A1 and A2 respectively) identifying a concrete individual fits the more specific FIS-q//IS-q and DS, which are more subjective and expressive of the reported speaker's perspective. Example 35 displays a considerable overlap in content and the key phrases across the nucleus and both satellites. For an example of Elaboration satellites with combined forms showing little semantic overlap and the lack of reiteration of the words enclosed in quotation marks see e.g. App. 2B, G29 (Elaboration A1 and A2, S1 and S2).

There were altogether 24 satellites, i.e. 12 complete strings, in which both satellites were realized by a combination of direct and non-direct forms (and narration), containing the total of 34 direct forms. The nucleus in example 36 points to the fact that parents have become more worried about their children's choice of university and more involved in the application process.

#### Example 36

##### **Headline**

<NI-i>Worried parents <N>point students towards degree that enriches more than the mind

##### **Lead**

<NI-i>Parents worried about high university fees<N> are overseeing their children's degree choice to help them to avoid becoming unemployed graduates with crippling debt.

##### **#S3/Elaboration A1**

<NI-i>Parents concerned about the higher costs<N>appear to be hovering over their children at each stage of the application process, and steering them toward a career-oriented degrees such as accountancy and law.

#<NRS>Paul Layzell, principal of Royal Holloway, part of the University of London, said:

<DS>"<e1NRT>*We're recognising<e1IT-i> that parents have a strong vested interest. <e1NI-i>They are wanting to make sure their children are getting value for money and making the right choices, and <e1NRT>will have some sense <e1IT-h>that there's life after a degree. <e1NRT>I think <e1IT> there's been a lot more shopping around. Record numbers attended our open days this year.*

##### **#S4/Elaboration A2**

<NRS>Professor Layzell said<IS> that <e1NI-i>*parents were particularly anxious about non-vocational courses.* <FDS>“**It’s about who is doing the teaching, what are they taught,** <e1NV> *those are the discussions we’re having.* <e1NRS>*None of them is saying,* <e1DS-h> **‘Why are you charging £9,000 rather than £8,500?’** (App. 2D, T42)

Both the Headline and Lead are built around inferred internal narration (NI-i, *worried*) and narration. Elaboration A1, specifying the problem further, is realized by the same forms (NI-i, *concerned*; N) and direct speech (DS). Elaboration A2 does the same in the form of indirect speech (IS) with an embedded internal narration (e1NI-i, *particularly anxious*) and free direct speech (FDS), containing further embedded forms. Although the satellites overlap in content, there is no key phrase repeated that would occur in the (free) direct speech in both satellites, like for instance in example 35 above. On the other hand, there is a recurrent reference to parents’ attitude in the form of (embedded) inferred internal narration (NI-i) both in the Headline and Lead (*worried*) and the two satellites (*concerned* in A1 and *particularly anxious* in A2). The reference to parental attitude also recurs in the form of embedded internal narration (e1NI-i, *wanting...*) in A1; the embedded narrator’s representation of voice (e1NV, *discussions*) and hypothetical direct speech (e1DS-h) in A2 describe and demonstrate respectively what the parents are or are not interested in during the discussions.

The parents’ attitude is exposed cyclically in the forms showing a gradual strengthening of reported speaker’s perspective from (embedded) inferred NI in the nucleus, Elaboration A1 and A2, and embedded narrator’s representation of voice to embedded hypothetical DS in Elaboration A2. The change in the deictic orientation, i.e. from (embedded) non-direct forms to embedded direct ones (e1DS-h), is also accompanied by a shift from a medium that is non-observable and hence inferred (thought) to a medium that is observable (speech), though, admittedly, non-actualised.

The satellites in two-member Elaboration strings are also often combinations of the examples above, i.e. one satellite contains only a direct form (and narration) and the other a direct form accompanied by a non-direct form of presentation. There were 12 such strings, binding 24 satellites containing 36 direct forms (e.g. in App. 2C, I5 Elaboration A1 features DS and FDS, whereas Elaboration A2 contains a stretch of narration, NV and finally DS).

As mentioned above, 109 satellites lack direct forms of presentation. These lie outside the scope of the paper unless they partake in the creation of Elaboration strings with satellites realized by direct forms (12 Elaboration strings: 12 satellites with direct forms, 12 without them) or direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms (27 Elaboration strings: 27 satellites



with direct and non-direct forms, 27 without direct forms). These cases account for 25 and 35 direct forms of presentation respectively. In these strings the satellite containing one or more direct forms was the second in the string (x2), illustrating further the tendency to proceed from relatively reporting speaker oriented forms to more reported speaker perspectived forms (Table 15). Naturally, opposite cases also occur but are lower in frequency (12 strings) and will be discussed later. The following example shows a combination of satellites based on non-direct forms (B1) and direct speech (B2).

Example 37

### Headline

<N>... while <NRSAp> King shoots down <e1NV>*his story over cuts U-turn*

### Lead

<NRS>The Bank of England governor, Mervyn King, has disclosed <IS><e1NV-h>*that he gave no fresh information to Nick Clegg that could have led the Liberal Democrat leader <e1NRSAp>to call for a faster deficit reduction programme than the one <e1NRSAp>outlined by his party during the election campaign.*

### #S2/Elaboration B1

<N>But <NRS>King told the Treasury select committee yesterday <IS>that <e1NV>*during a call on 15 May <e1NRSAp-h>he said nothing to Clegg that<e2NV> he had not already said in public, most notably at a press conference three days earlier.*

### #S5/Elaboration B2

<N>But <NRS>King said yesterday: <DS>“<e1NV>*In the telephone conversation <e1NRS>I basically repeated <e1IS>what <e2NV>I had said at the press conference.*”

(App. 2B, G10)

In example 37, the Headline and Lead draw attention to the Bank of England's governor's statement concerning his recent advice on deficit reduction in the form of NRSAp (*King shoots down...*) and IS (*The Bank of England governor, Mervyn King has disclosed...*). Elaboration B1 repeats the information in the form of IS (*King told the Treasury...*) and Elaboration B2 in the form of DS. The sequence of forms conforms to the pattern showing a gradual rise in the deictic orientation to the reported speaker. Although indirect speech has a potential to summarize and lacks the faithfulness claim to form, there is a considerable overlap between the IS and DS in Elaboration B1 and B2 as regards content, words and structures used as well as the embedded forms of presentation. Both IS and DS embed a

narrator's representation of voice at level one (e1NV, *during a call on 15 May* in B1, *In the telephone conversation* in B2) and at level two (e2NV, *he had not already said in public... three days earlier* in B1, *I had said at the press conference* in B2). Also, both reporting clauses contain the same time specification of the speech event (*yesterday*). There is only a difference in the manner the content of the telephone conversation is presented: Elaboration B1 phrases it as a hypothetical speech summary (e1NRSAp-h), saying what actually was not said (*he said nothing to Clegg...*), whereas Elaboration B2 reports in indirect speech (e1IS) what had been already said (*I basically repeated what ...*). The Lead refers to the non-materialised event via the embedded hypothetical narrator's representation of voice, e1NV-h (*he gave no fresh information to Nick Clegg*).

The following example is also a sequence of satellites based on non-direct and direct forms; in this case, however, the first member in the string is a compound satellite.

#### Example 38

##### Headline

<NRSAp>Broadside for Brown

##### Lead

<NRS>GORDON Brown has told David Cameron <IS>he must spend billions of pounds on new aircraft carriers.

##### S1/Elaboration A1 + Elaboration B1

<N>The former prime minister's intervention - <NRSAp>his first comment on domestic politics <N>since leaving No 10 in May - brought <NRSAp>Conservative accusations of hypocrisy.

##### # ##CONCESSIVE SEQUENCE (S3-4)

##### S3/Elaboration A2

<N>Visiting Rosyth, <NRS>Mr Brown said <IS-q>that if the Coalition failed to build both carriers, it would be a **"betrayal"** costing thousands of Scottish jobs.

#        **x x x**

##### S4/Elaboration B2

<NRSAp>Liam Fox, the Defence Secretary, accused Mr Brown of hypocrisy. <NRS>He said: <DS>**"The real betrayal in defence was Gordon Brown's vindictive attitude as chancellor and <eINI-i>unwillingness as prime minister to properly fund our Armed Forces."** (App. 2A, DT42)

Example 38 draws attention to the argument between the Conservatives and the former British PM: the Headline presents the Conservative criticism aimed at Gordon Brown (NRSAp) for his comments on domestic politics highlighted in the Lead (IS). The first satellite is nucleus-like in that it brings together both sides of the argument: Elaboration A1 brings up Brown's comments and Elaboration B1 reports the Conservative reaction, both in the form of NRSAp. Both themes are then reintroduced in two separate satellites. Satellite A2 further specifies Brown's statement in the form of IS-q, highlighting the evaluation loaded word *betrayal*. Elaboration B2 repeats the Conservative accusation of hypocrisy (NRSAp) reported already in B1 and specifies to whom the accusation can be attributed (Liam Fox). The DS in B2 provides support for the summarized interpretation in the preceding NRSAp in B2 and B1. The specification of the source goes hand in hand with the switch from non-direct form in B1 to pure direct form in B2.

Also, there is an interesting interaction between the IS-q in A2 and the DS in B2, reflecting the dialogic nature of the whole communicative event as well as the disagreement between the two parties, which forms the basis for placing the satellites in a concessive sequence. The betrayal, quoted directly in the IS-q in A2, is attributed by Brown to the Coalition, and thus also to the Conservatives; in the DS in B2 the responsibility is placed on Brown and referred to as *the real betrayal*, rejecting and correcting (at least in the context of the report) the voice and opinion in Elaboration A2. This example shows that even though there is supposedly no relation between satellites within the body of the text, the presence of compound satellites, the selection of quotes (especially in combined forms of presentation), and the adjacency of satellites can trigger interaction between satellites and imbue the text with an argumentative flavour.

The sequence of non-direct form/narration (or combined form) followed by a combined and/or pure direct form was attested within a satellite and between two satellites in a string. Nevertheless, opposite cases also appear: in 5 strings satellites with altogether 7 direct forms of presentation (and narration) preceded satellites lacking direct forms; in 7 strings satellites with altogether 10 direct forms of presentation accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration) preceded satellites without direct forms. The following example illustrates the former case.

### Example 39

#### Lead

<FIW//IW>Rates of obesity among pregnant women are at an epidemic level, exacerbated by <e1NI-i>*poor awareness of the dangers* and <e1NRS//N>*myths such as*<e1DS//N-sq>*“eating for two”*, <NRW>health experts say.

#### #S5/Elaboration C1

<NRS>Professor Poston said <IS-q>that obese women faced a greater risk of “**almost every complication in the book in pregnancy**”, including pre-eclampsia, gestational diabetes, miscarriage and maternal death. <FIS-q>At her antenatal clinics there had been an “**exponential increase**” in obesity attending.

#### #S7/Elaboration C2

<NRW//N>Research suggests<IW//N>that obese women are more likely to have an induced or longer labour, instrumental delivery, Caesarean section or a postpartum haemorrhage. <N>They also have reduced choices on how and when they give birth. Babies born to obese women face risks such as stillbirth, congenital abnormality and an increased likelihood of obesity in childhood. Obesity can also cause problems with breastfeeding.

(App. 2D, T9)

In example 39, the Elaboration satellites specify what kinds of danger mentioned in the Lead are faced by obese women during pregnancy. In Elaboration C1 the partial quote in IS-q (“*almost every complication in the book in pregnancy*”) draws attention to the seriousness of the problem and the partial quote in FIS-q (“*exponential increase*”) specifies its increasing tendency. Both forms are attributed to a specific individual (*Professor Poston*). Elaboration C2 gives further details by means of quite an extensive stretch of narration preceded by narration ambiguous with indirect writing (IW//N) attributed to a relatively general source (*research*). The ambiguity was postulated due to the indeterminacy as to whether the form refers to published results (IW) or just results of some (non-verbal) scientific endeavour (N), both compatible with the verb (*suggest*). Both interpretations contribute to dialogic interaction: on the IW reading, the presence of external voice creates heteroglossic backdrop via attribution and grounding the content in the subjectivity of that voice; on the narration reading, the heteroglossic backdrop is built upon appearance and thus, arguably, achieves a similar rhetorical effect via “entertaining” more dialogic alternatives (Martin and White 2005, 104-117). In example 39 the sequence of satellites and the choices

made in narration, forms of attribution and source of attribution contradict the pattern shown in examples 43-48 and point to its character of mere tendency.

Above the question was raised as to the relation between the order of a satellite in the string and the type of the employed direct form. The data in Table 16 above indicate that pure forms are more preferable in the second satellite and combined forms in the first. Table 17 shows at least a rough distribution of combined and pure forms across the satellite string.

109	x1			
x2	combined	Pure	combined+ pure	non-direct/N
combined	2	2	1	<b>14</b>
pure	8	9	4	<b>22</b>
combined + pure	3			<b>3</b>
non-direct/N	8	4		

Table 17: The distribution of (non-)direct forms across a two-satellite Elaboration string

There are 2 strings in which both x1 and x2 contain only combined forms (and possibly non-direct forms and narration) and 9 strings in which both x1 and x2 contain only pure forms, i.e. (F)DD (and possibly non-direct forms and narration). In 4 cases, an x1 satellite realized by a combined and pure form is followed by an x2 satellite based only on a pure form.

Looking at the strings where direct form based satellites appear with satellites lacking direct forms, the results are as follows: x1 satellites which lack direct forms are followed by 14 x2 satellites with a combined form, 22 x2 satellites with a pure direct form and 3 x2 satellites with both combined and pure direct forms. These results are in line with the pattern following from the data in Table 15 regarding the distribution of narration and direct and non-direct forms of presentation in the first and second satellite in the string. In several other combinations (11 in total), the data support those following from Table 16, namely that x1 is characterized by combined forms and x2 by pure forms: in 8 strings x1 contains a combined form and x2 a pure form, and in 3 cases x1 contains a combined form whereas x2 a combined form and a pure form. In all cases, the switch from a non-direct/narrative form to a direct one, or from a combined form to a pure direct form results in the switch to the reported speaker's perspective.

On the other hand, sequences opposite to those suggested by Tables 15 and 16 can be found. There are 12 strings in which the x2 satellite lacks direct forms: 8 x2 satellites follow x1 satellites containing a combined form and 4 x2 satellites follow x1 satellites containing a

pure form of presentation. There are also satellite strings based only on direct/combined forms but which do not show a gradual increase in the reported speaker's perspective: in 2 strings x1 contained a pure form whereas x2 a combined form; in one instance a combined and pure form in x1 is followed by a combined form in x2. Thus, although there are strings which show a gradual increase in the strength of the reported speaker's deictic centre and perspective (50 in total, marked in bold italics), there are cases which do not display this pattern (15 in total, no special marking) or those that run against it (15 in total, shaded).

The above examples have shown a number of lines regarding the employment of direct forms in two-satellite Elaboration strings. Of the total (218), 109 satellites lack direct forms of presentation and there are 29 Elaboration strings based on non-direct/narration satellites only. The remaining strings are formed by the combination of satellites containing direct forms (and narration), direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration), and finally non-direct forms/narration. In general, satellites with zero occurrence of direct forms are preferred as first members of the string, whereas satellites featuring combined/direct forms are preferred as second members of the string (example 37-38). This sequence is also found within satellites and shows a gradual increase in the strength of the deictic perspective of the reported speaker. Contrary examples (example 39) can be found but these are less numerous in occurrence (12).

Combined forms are more frequent in the first satellite, whereas direct and free direct forms are more frequent in the second satellite (example 35). This pattern is analogous to the combined – pure direct form sequence within a satellite. Nevertheless, it needs to be borne in mind that out of 155 forms, 4 appear in ambiguous satellites and 17 in an x1 followed by a non-direct form based x2. Also, some strings are formed by satellites based on combined forms only or pure (free) direct forms only (example 36).

A degree of overlap in content between the satellites in a string (and nucleus) may be accompanied by repetition of key phrases (example 35), similarity of forms of presentation and the relations between them, e.g. as far as the host and embedded forms are concerned (examples 36, 37). However, an overlap in content, perhaps with different degrees of specification, is not necessary between Elaboration satellites; sometimes satellites may Elaborate on different aspects of the issue raised in the nucleus, in which case the overlap in key phrases or forms of reporting may also be absent. The discussion will now proceed with three-satellite Elaboration strings.

### 6.5.3 Three-satellite Elaboration string

There are 123 Elaboration satellites forming 41 three-satellite strings. As above, the numbers in curly brackets indicate ambiguous satellites, 4 altogether.

Satellites {ambiguous}	x1	x2	x3	Total
Direct forms only (+N)	5	7	9	21
Direct forms which appear with Non-D (+N)	7	14{1}	11{1}	34
(Non-Direct) + (A) + (N)	28{1}	18{1}	20	68
Total	41	41	41	123

Table 18: Forms of presentation and narration in a three-satellite Elaboration string

Table 18, summarizing the distribution of reported language and narration across the three-satellite string, shows that satellites lacking direct forms prevail (68) and appear more frequently as the first (29) rather than second (19) or third (20) member of the string. Satellites built on direct forms (and narration) (21) and direct forms with non-direct forms (34) tend to occur rather in the second (7 and 15) or third (9 and 12) satellite than in the first (5 and 7). Table 19 shows the distribution of pure direct and combined forms in the three members of the Elaboration string.

Direct forms (+ Non-D) (+N)	FDD/ %	DD/ %	FID-q/ %	ID-q/ %	NRDAp-q/ %	N-q/ %	A/ %	Total/ %
Satellites								
x1 /12	2/12.5	3/18.7	0	7/43.8	3/18.7	0	1/6.3	16/100
x2 /21{1}	8/21.6	19/51.4	0	6/16.2	1{1}5.4	0	2/5.4	36{1}100
x3 /20{1}	3/9.2	20/60.6	0	4/12.1	1/3%	0{1}3	4/12.1	32{1}100
Total 53{2}	13	42	0	17	5{1}	0{1}	7	84{2}

Table 19: Direct forms of presentation in a three-satellite Elaboration string

In the 41 Elaboration strings, there are 12 x1 satellites containing 16 direct forms, 22 x2 (including one ambiguity) satellites containing 37 direct forms and finally 21 x3 (including one ambiguity) satellites containing 33 direct forms. The trend for the distribution of pure direct and combined forms across the satellite string seems to copy the tendency in two-satellite strings. With the exception of FDD in the third satellite, there is a gradual rise in the occurrence of FDD and DD: in the first satellite FDD and DD represent 12.5% and 18.7%, in the second satellite the percentage rises to 21.6% and 51.4% and in the third satellite it is

9.2% and 60.6%. On the other hand, the percentage of combined forms is higher in the first satellite than the second and third. ID-q accounts for 43.8%, 16.2% and 12.1% in the first, second and third satellite respectively; NRDAp-q accounts for 18.7%, 5.4% and 3% in the first, second and third satellite. One instance of N-q appears in the third ambiguous satellite, covering 3% of direct forms. Concrete examples of direct and non-direct forms in Elaboration strings are adduced below. Looking at the issue from the point of view of a satellite, x1 is realized by unambiguous combined forms (62.5%) more frequently than by pure direct forms (31.2%) and in percentage terms the individual combined forms are identical to or outnumber (F)DD. The third satellite is realized by (F)DD (69.8%) more often than by combined forms (18.1%), although ID-q (12.1%) is slightly more frequent in x3 than FDD (9.2%). The x2 is closer to the pattern in x3, i.e. it favours (F)DD (73%) over combined forms (21.6%), and both pure forms are more frequent than either of the present combined forms.

The forms of presentation can appear in different patterns in Elaboration strings. Disregarding ambiguities both of satellites and direct forms, out of the 123 satellites forming 41 complete Elaboration cycles, 33 satellites in 11 complete strings lack direct forms. On the other hand, 8 complete strings are based only on satellites containing at least one direct form of presentation: 15 satellites in 5 strings are combinations of direct forms (and narration) and direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration), containing 21 direct forms; 9 satellites, forming 3 Elaboration strings, contain only direct forms (13) co-occurring with non-direct forms of representation. The remaining strings are a mixture of the above. 11 satellites containing direct forms (18) (and narration) combine with satellites based on non-direct forms/narration to form 8 complete strings; similarly, 14 satellites containing direct forms (23) accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration) combine with satellites based on non-direct forms/narration to form 11 complete strings; and finally, 3 complete strings, containing 11 direct forms of presentation, are formed by a combination of 3 satellites containing direct forms only (and narration), 3 satellites based on direct forms co-occurring with non-direct forms (and narration) and 3 satellites realized by non-direct forms and/or narration.

The following examples illustrate some of the combinations. Example 40 reports on a positive change regarding the accessibility of important medication for Alzheimer's patients. The first two satellites, A1 and A2, contain direct forms of presentation and narration, and A3 shows a pattern of non-direct and direct form.



#### Example 40

##### Headline

<N>Alzheimer's patients to get access to key drugs via NHS

##### Headline

<N>Government U-turn makes medication more available

##### Headline

<N-q//N-sq>Effects help to **'lift the fog'** and delay onset of disease

##### #S2/Elaboration A1

<N>The medications – Aricept, Exelon and Reminyl- which cost £2.80 a day per patient, can help patients retain their mental faculties longer. <NRS>Sufferers who use them say <IS-q>they act like **“a fog lifting”** and help them *<e1NRTAp>remember things such as their grandchildren's names, how to make a cup of tea and their home address.*

##### #S3/Elaboration A2

<N>Not all patients benefit from the drugs, but they have been shown to help some patients to varying degrees. <DS>**“These drugs can help people have a better quality of life at all stages of the condition. While they don't work for everyone, small but important benefits can enable many people *<e1NI-h>to recognize their loved ones for longer, play with their grandchildren or make vital plans for the future*”,** <NRS>said Sunderland.

##### #S9/Elaboration A3/Wrap-up

<NRS>Chris Hill, a retired geography teacher in March, Cambridgeshire, said <IS>his 60-year-old wife Angela, an ex-primary school teacher, had experienced a significant improvement in her mental faculties for months after taking Aricept. <DS>**“*<e1NRTA-i>Nice's decision will delay the advance of the symptoms of Alzheimer's disease. Aricept doesn't prolong life but it masks the symptoms, so that more of the person's personality is retained. They are more of the person that they were for longer, and for a relative or a carer - a wife, husband, son or daughter - that's massive, because *<e1NI-h>Alzheimer's pulls on your heartstrings*, because you witness the decline of your loved one,*”** <NRS>said Hill, whose wife's condition is now so severe that she has been in a care home since the summer.

(App. 2B, G27)

Elaborations A1- A3 specify positive effects of the newly available drugs. Elaboration A1 takes the form of narration and partially quoted indirect speech (IS-q); A2 is a sequence of narration and direct speech (DS); and A3 a sequence of IS and DS. The metaphorical phrase *lift the fog* selected for the nucleus recurs in A1; Elaborations A1 and A2 also show recurrent

reference to the positive effects (*remember things such as their grandchildren's names, how to make a cup of tea and their home address* in A1; *to recognize their loved ones for longer, play with their grandchildren or make vital plans for the future* in A2). Looking at the forms and their function within the satellites, the combined (IS-q in A1) or direct forms (DS in A2, A3) follow the more narrative (N in A1, A2) or reporting speaker oriented forms (IS in A3). Looking at the entire string, it illustrates the tendency for combined forms to appear in the first Elaboration satellite (IS-q in A1) and the tendency for (free) direct discourse to appear more frequently in the second and third satellite (DSs in A2 and A3).

Elaborations A1 and A3 differ from A2 in the kind of voice evoked by the source of attribution. Whereas Elaboration A2 relies on the voice of authority, a doctor and expert in the field (*Sunderland*), Elaboration A1 refers to Alzheimer's patients in general (*sufferers*) and A3 to a concrete individual (*Chris Hill*). In A3 the voice of an ordinary person without expertise but with direct experience with the illness as a carer and a close relative of an Alzheimer's patient (e1NI-h; *Alzheimer's pulls on your heartstrings*) provides a noticeable switch in the point of view of the situation and thus wraps up the whole story. The evocation of voice and perspective is facilitated by the employment of DS, the embedded internal narration as well as the level of personal detail with which the two protagonists are portrayed (*a retired geography teacher, 60-year-old wife Angela* etc.).

Table 19 above suggests a propensity for combined forms to appear in the beginning of the string and pure direct forms to appear rather towards the end of the string, underlying a functional distinction between forms of presentation on the basis of their syntactic properties, deictic orientation and perspective. This pattern was illustrated by example 40 above and was also present in two-satellite strings. On the other hand, as was also shown in two-satellite strings, not all concrete sequences adhere to the outlined tendency. Table 20 relates the aspects of form, deictic centre and perspective to the aspect of the order of a satellite in the string. Because of the greater variability of satellite sequences opened in a three-satellite string, only strings in which all three satellites contain at least one direct form of presentation will be considered now. The strings with satellites lacking direct forms will be briefly discussed in Table 21.

x1-x3	
combined x1-x2 + pure x2-x3	<b>4</b>
x1-x3 all pure	1
x1-x3 all combined	1
combined x1 + pure and combined x2-x3	<b>1</b>
pure x1-x2 + pure and combined x3	1

Table 20: The distribution of direct forms across a three-satellite Elaboration string

Out of the 8 strings based on direct forms, in one string all three satellites contain pure forms and in one case all three satellites contain combined forms. In the rest, pure and combined forms co-occur in the string. In 1 case a pure form in x1-x2 precedes a combined and pure form in x3; in 1 case a combined form in x1 precedes x2 and x3 in which pure forms occur with combined forms. In 4 cases a combined form in x1 or x1-x2 precedes a pure form in x3 or x2-x3 (example 40). All these combinations either retain the established deictic orientation (no special marking) or evince an increase in the deictic orientation from the reporting to the reported speaker (in bold italics). Admittedly, the numbers are too low to be significant in themselves but may be viewed as supporting the tendencies found in two-satellite strings.

Looking at the strings containing satellites without direct forms, Table 18 implies that these are more typical of the beginning of the string whereas those with direct forms function as the second and/or third satellites, a pattern found also in two-satellite strings. Example 41 shows a sequence that does not adhere to this pattern and is in fact its polar opposite – a satellite characterised by pure direct forms (DS, FDS in A1) is followed by two satellites lacking direct forms of presentation (A2, A3).

Example 41

#### Headline

<NRS Ap>A1-Qa'ida blamed <N>as Western targets hit in Yemen

#### Lead

<NRTAp-i//N>SUSPECTED AL-Q'IDA militants <N>attacked two Western targets in Yemen yesterday, firing a rocket at a British diplomat's car and killing a Frenchman at a gas and oil installation.

#### #S2/Elaboration A1

<NRS>The Foreign Office said <IS>a British embassy vehicle carrying the deputy chief of the British mission was attacked. <DS>**“The vehicle was on its way to the embassy,**

**with five staff on board,”<NRS>a Foreign Office spokesman said. <FDS>“One member of staff suffered minor injuries and is undergoing treatment, all others were unhurt.”**

#### **#S3/Elaboration A2**

<NRS>A security source in Yemen said <IS>three Yemeni bystanders were wounded in the rocket-propelled grenade attack.

#### **#S4/Elaboration A3**

<N>The Frenchman died in a shooting in the compound of the Austrian-owned oil and gas group OMV. <NRS>A security source said <IS>the attacker was a Yemeni guard working for a private security firm, and government forces had disarmed him.

(App. 2D, I16)

Although Elaboration A1 instantiates the characteristic intra-satellite order of forms, i.e. an interpretative summarizing non-direct form (IS) supported by (free) direct forms (DS and FDS), it goes against both the trends noted in Table 18 and 19, namely the sequence of satellites in the string, and the proclivity for direct forms to appear more frequently in the non-initial satellites. Consequently, although the data in Tables 20 and 21 suggest certain tendencies (and corroborate those found in two-satellite strings) regarding the employment of (non-)direct forms in the string in connection with their potential to reflect either the perspective of the reporting or reported speaker, the combinations in specific examples may observe different patterns.

Table 21 looks at the concrete combinations of direct and non-direct/narration based satellites.

non-direct x1-x2 + direct x2-x3	11
non-direct x1 + direct x2 + non-direct x3	7
direct x1 + non-direct x2+ direct x3	2
direct x1-x2 + non-direct x2-x3	2

Table 21: The distribution of (non-)direct forms across a three-satellite Elaboration string

In 11 strings the first or also second satellite based on non-direct forms is/are followed by second and third satellites with pure direct or combined forms. The opposite pattern has been identified in two cases, i.e. a direct form based satellite(s) is/are followed by one or two non-direct form/narration based satellites (example 41). In 7 and 2 strings non-direct/narration based and direct form based satellites alternate. Consequently, only

half of the cases (11) exhibit the pattern of gradual (and uninterrupted) increase in the strength with which the reported speaker's perspective is displayed and the link between the form of reported language/narration and satellite arrangement seems more tenuous. The next section is devoted to four-satellite strings.

#### 6.5.4 Four-satellite Elaboration string

With 100 satellites creating 25 strings, four-satellite Elaboration strings are even less frequent than three-satellite strings. For this reason and because forms of presentation are dispersed across four satellites, their absolute numbers per each satellite in a string are too low to allow reliable conclusions.

Satellites {ambiguous}	x1	x2	x3	x4	Total
Direct forms only (+N)	1{1}	4	4	5	15
Direct forms which appear with Non-D (+N)	8	5{3}	11{1}	10{2}	40
(Non-Direct) + (A) + (N)	15	13	9	8	45
Total	25	25	25	25	100

Table 22: Forms of presentation and narration in a four-satellite Elaboration string

Direct forms (and narration) participate in 15 satellites, and seem to be preferred in the non-initial satellites (x2-x4), where their distribution is rather balanced (4 and 5). Direct forms co-occurring with non-direct forms (and narration) participate in 40 satellites. Although there are no striking differences in their distribution across x1-x4, the occurrence is higher in the third (12) and fourth (12) satellite than in the first (8) and second (8), including ambiguous satellites. Finally, satellites lacking direct forms (45) function slightly more frequently as first (15) or second (13) members of the string than the third (9) or fourth (8).

Although the employment of direct forms in x1-x4 bears some similarity to two- and three-satellite strings, there are some deviations, especially as regards FDD and ID-q.

Direct forms (+ Non-D) (+N) Satellites	FDD/ %	DD/ %	FID-q/ %	ID-q/ %	NRDAp-q/ %	N-q/ %	A/ %	Total/ %
x1 /9{1}	1/8.33	0{1}8.33	0	4{2}50	3/25	1/8.33	0	12/100
x2 /9{3}	2{2}21	4{2}31.6	0	5{1}31.6	2/10.5	0	1/5.3	19/100
x3/15{1}	2/11.1	6{1}38.9	1/5.55	3/16.7	0	1/5.55	4/22.2	18/100
x4/15{2}	2/7.7	10{5}57.7	0	6/23.1	0	0	3/11.5	26/100
Total 48{7}	7{2}	20{9}	1	18{3}	5	2	8	75

Table 23: Direct forms of presentation in a four-satellite Elaboration string

As in two- and three-satellite strings, the first satellite tends to be realized by combined forms (50% ID-q, 25% NRDAp-q and 8.33% N-q). Although the last member of the string shows a tendency to employ (F)DD (7.7% and 57.7%), 5 of the 15 instances of DD are in ambiguous satellites, and ID-q (23.1%) is more frequent than FDD (7.7%). Consequently, the connection between the final satellite and (F)DD seems less strong. In the intermediary members (x2, x3) pure direct forms are slightly more frequent than combined forms, though in x2 ID-q is identical to DD and outnumbers FDD, and in x3 outnumbers FDD. FDD and DD appear in 21% and 31.6% in x2 (52.6%) and in 11.1% and 38.9% in x3 (50%), both accounting for approximately half of all forms in the respective satellites. The remaining x2 and x3 satellites are realized by combined forms and ambiguities. In x2 combined forms represent 42.1% (31.6% ID-q and 10.5% NRDAp-q); in x3 the percentage is lower 27.8% (5.55% FID-q, 16.7% ID-q and 5.55% N-q). It needs to be emphasised again that the absolute numbers are too low to serve as a basis for reliable conclusions.

Including ambiguous satellites, out of 100 Elaboration satellites forming 25 strings, 8 satellites in 2 strings were realized solely by non-direct forms and/or narration. The rest of the strings involved satellites containing direct forms. 8 satellites in 2 strings were realized only by direct forms (and narration) and 8 satellites in 2 strings by direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration). The other strings (19) combined 76 satellites based on direct and non-direct forms: 9 strings were formed by 36 satellites containing direct forms (and narration), direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration) and satellites lacking any direct forms; 7 strings were formed by satellites containing direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration) and satellites with zero occurrence of direct forms; and finally 3 strings combined satellites with direct forms (and narration) and satellites with no direct forms at all.

Example 42 deals with the issue of doubling the budget for the Olympic games ceremonies; it illustrates a string with satellites based on direct forms with (B1, B3-B4) and without (B2) non-direct forms.

Example 42

### Headline

<N>£40 million upgrade for the Olympic ceremonies

### Lead

<N-q>The budget for the opening and closing ceremonies at the London Olympics has been doubled to £81 million in order to better exploit a **“great national moment”**, <NRS>in a tacit admission <IS>that the shows risked *<e1NI-hi>underwhelming the world.*

### #S3/Elaboration B1

<NRS>Hugh Robertson, the Sports Minister, said <IS-q>that it was vital to showcase the best of Britain in a **“once-in-a-generation opportunity”**. <NRS>He declined<IS><e1NRSAp-h> to criticise the early efforts of some of the best creative talent in the entertainment business.

### #S5/Elaboration B2

<NRS>Mr Robertson said: <DS>**“To get the ceremonies absolutely righty and boost the Games business and tourism legacy, we are putting additional investment into our ceremonies.”**

### # ##CONCURRING SEQUENCE (S10-11)

### S10/Elaboration B3

<NRS>Mr Robertson said <IS>that London would not try to compete with Beijing, <NRS>adding: <DS>**“That’s an arms race we won’t win. <e1NRTAp-i>We had a look at what was available and<e1NRT> realised <e1IT-i>that this was a terrific opportunity and we had to make the most of it. <e1NRT>We decided <e1IT-i>to go in at the higher figure for the benefit of the country.”**

# ~ ~ ~

### S11/ Elaboration B4

<NRS>Paul Deighton, chief executive of the London organising committee, said<IS> that<e1NI-i> the coalition and Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, were happy with the content of the shows. <DS>**“The Government has chosen to make this investment because <e1NRT>they believe<e1IT-i> there will be a substantial return to tourism and business legacy, and we will continue to work hard to deliver four brilliant ceremonies, which showcase the UK to the world,”** <NRS>he added. (App. 2D, T35)

The first satellite contains IS-q accompanied by IS, while x2-x4 are based on DS, in x3 and x4 accompanied by IS. Elaborations B1-B4 display a degree of overlap in content and to an extent also in form: there is a re-current reference to the significance of the occasion (*great national moment* in the Lead, *once-in-a-generation opportunity* in B1 and *a terrific opportunity* B3), in which Britain has to show off (*to showcase the best of Britain* in B1 and *to showcase the UK to the world* in B4), especially for the benefit of tourism and business (*business and tourism legacy* in B2 and *tourism and business legacy* in B4). Also, the DSs in Elaborations B3 and B4 embed a number of non-direct forms reporting thought (e1NRTAp-i *We had a look...*, e1IT-i *We realised...*, *We decided...*, *They believe...*), stressing that the budget increase is well thought out.

The arrangement of satellites in the string observes the pattern displaying the increase in the reported speaker's subjectivity (IS-q, 3 DSs). However, Elaboration B1 (x1) relies on the sequence of IS-q and IS, not copying the intra-satellite rise in subjectivity. Elaborations B1-B3 rely on the voice of the British Sports Minister; the DS in Elaboration B4 brings in another voice of authority, forming a concurring sequence with Elaboration B3. For an Elaboration string in which the distribution of direct and non-direct forms of presentation does not manifest a gradual rise in the subjectivity of an external voice see e.g. App. 2A, DT 17, in which the string combines satellites with (Elaboration A1, 3, 4) and without (A2) direct forms of presentation.

### 6.5.5 Five- and six-satellite Elaboration strings

Considering the total number of Elaboration satellites (653), the number of satellites in five-satellite (50) and six-satellite (30) strings is not negligible, but the number of complete strings (10 and 5) they generate is not so significant. Moreover, as the possible combinations of satellites determined on the basis of presence or absence of direct forms of presentation are too varied to allow systematic treatment, the results will not be presented in tabular form and the two strings will be briefly discussed together. In addition, the occurrence of direct forms is not very high (64 in total) and, as in the case of four-satellite strings, their possible dispersion across the string reduces their occurrence per satellite and prevents reliable conclusions. Suffice it to say that in both kinds of strings the participation of satellites with direct forms amounts to 40 in comparison to 40 satellites without any direct forms of presentation. The number of satellites with direct forms (and narration) in x1-x6 in both strings ranges from 1-6 and x5 is most frequent (6); the number of satellites with direct forms accompanied by non-



direct forms (and narration) also ranges from 1-6 and x3 and x4 are the most frequent, counting 6 occurrences each. On the other hand, the frequency of satellites without direct forms ranges from 3-11, the most frequent such satellite being x1 with 11 occurrences. Thus although it is not possible to conclude that the distribution of satellites according to the presence or absence of direct forms undoubtedly supports the tendency noted for other strings, it does not seem to undermine it: satellites without any direct forms prevail initially and satellites with direct forms prevail non-initially. However, as has been already mentioned, concrete strings may be heterogeneous in terms of the ordering of satellites. For some examples of a five-satellite Elaboration string see e.g. App. 2A, DT16, DT19, DT23, DT30; App. 2B, G4, G11, G28; App. 2C, I15, I33 and App. 2D, T38. For a six-satellite string see e.g. App. 2B, G20, G34; App. 2D, T14, T25 and T34.

In the five- and six-satellite strings there occurred 64 direct forms: 13 FDD, 25 DD, 14 ID-q, 6 NRDAp-q, 1 N-q and 5 ambiguities. In x1 (4) and x2 (7) satellites the most frequently found direct form is ID-q (60% and 44.4%), x3 (8) satellite relies equally heavily on DD and ID-q (both 25%), in both x4 (9) and x5 (10) satellites the highest proportion represents DD (42.1% and 52.9%) and two x6 satellites contain only DD (100%). Thus also the distribution of direct forms seems to be in line with the results attested for the strings with a lower number of satellites.

Most of the examples shown in this chapter were part of issues reports in which the problem raised in the nucleus is construed as a verbal act. Due to their generic function Elaboration satellites (and nucleus) overlap in content, forms of presentation and the relation between them, as well as the words and structures selected for direct quotation in partial or pure direct forms. Elaboration is the most frequently occurring specification of the nucleus and out of all elements in the orbital structure contains the largest proportion of direct forms. In many cases, Elaboration satellites recur in cycles and form up to six-satellite strings. Proportionally, the highest number of satellites is arranged in two-satellite strings, and the lowest number in six-satellite strings. The frequency of the string is in inverse proportion to the number of satellites per cycle, i.e. the higher the number of satellites per string, the lower its frequency.

Direct forms of presentation were identified in approximately half of the Elaboration satellites, including compound and ambiguous satellites. In general, where an Elaboration string contains satellites with and without direct forms, the former tend to follow the latter. This is most obvious in the case of two-satellite strings but less easy to claim in the case of three- and more-satellite strings, as the combinatorial potential is greater and the frequency of

occurrence lower. Even though most of the examples were chosen to illustrate the pattern, it is by no means applied universally and counter-examples can be found. In order to have a complete picture of how narration, non-direct and direct forms are distributed across strings other satellite types than Elaboration would have to be taken into account too.

As for the individual direct forms of presentation, the results seem to suggest that especially in two- and three-satellite strings (F)DD is more frequently chosen for later satellites in the string whereas combined forms tend to appear earlier. This seems a tempting conclusion to settle on as this pattern is analogous to the frequently (albeit not universally) found sequence of non-direct/combined and pure direct form(s) within a satellite. Also, it seems to go hand in hand with the tentatively outlined arrangement of non-direct form/narration based satellites occurring prior to direct form based satellites. In these sequences, the forms of narration and/or reported language evince a gradual increase in the deictic centre, subjectivity and perspective of the reported speaker on the one hand, and a gradual decrease in the interference, control and perspective of the reporting speaker/narrator on the other. Nevertheless, the results must be looked at with caution as they summarize the total occurrence of direct forms in each satellite in a string but cannot provide insight into how in actual examples pure and partially quoted forms really combine in strings. A more detailed and systematic examination of the stipulated tendencies is needed to shed more light on the sequence of satellites with and without direct forms in a string, the relation between the type of direct form and the order of a satellite in a string and the interaction between the two aspects.

A few more examples of satellite strings will be adduced in the chapters below and the issue of distribution of forms of presentation across strings will also be raised in the Conclusion in connection to the cooperation of the orbital, periodic and prosodic patterns. Now attention will be turned to the next satellite type, namely Contextualization.

## **6.6 Contextualization**

Contextualization is the second most frequent satellite type. Out of the total of 370 satellites, 33 (8.9%) were realized by direct forms (and narration), 88 (23.8%) by direct forms co-occurring with non-direct forms (and narration) and the remaining 249 (67.3%) contain non-direct forms and/or narration. The low number of satellites characterized by the participation of direct forms has been explained by the function of Contextualization, which is to specify temporal, spatial or social background, i.e. the information that may be deemed less

significant, disrupting or has already acquired the status of an accepted, taken-for granted fact and hence does not necessitate heteroglossic treatment. Still, a number of Contextualization satellites rely on direct extra-vocalisation. As shown in Table 5, unlike Appraisal and like Elaboration, the percentage of Contextualization satellites with direct forms (and narration) is lower than the percentage of satellites in which direct and non-direct forms co-occur. However, whereas Elaboration satellites with direct and non-direct forms (and narration) cover approximately two thirds of all satellites with direct forms, Contextualization satellites combining direct and non-direct forms (and narration) cover approximately three fourths. The presence of non-direct forms (and narration) accompanying direct forms is probably related to a less pressing need to depict a situation in full and from the reported speaker's perspective, and space is given to more interpretative and summative alternatives instead. Nevertheless, let us begin the discussion with satellites based only on direct forms of presentation.

Although the proportion of satellites with and without direct forms in Elaboration and Contextualization is different, the relative proportion of direct forms (and narration) in both satellite types is comparable. The unambiguous direct forms appear as follows with a descending frequency: DD (36.4%), ID-q (20.4%), FDD (18.2%), NRDAp-q (13.6%) and FID-q/N-q (2.3%).

Contextualization : direct forms only (+N)								
Satellites/33	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	8	14	1	8	3			34
Writing	0	2	0	1	3			6
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						1		1
Ambiguity							3	3
Total	8	16	1	9	6	1	3	44
Total %	18.2	36.4	2.3	20.4	13.6	2.3	6.8	100

Table 24: Contextualization – direct forms of presentation

Although combined forms (38.6%) are less frequent than (F)DD (54.6%), their overall relative frequency is, like in Elaboration, higher than in Appraisal satellites. Despite their summarizing and interpretative function the combined forms in Contextualization may be perceived as less threatening to the pursuit of objective and impersonal presentation, possibly due to the kind of information they procure. Example 43 shows two strings of

Contextualization satellites, Contextualization C1 and C2, and Contextualization E1 and E2. The source of disequilibrium in the Lead is the death of a teenage girl.

Example 43

### Headline

<N>Mother finds babysitter daughter stabbed to death

### Lead

<N>A teenage girl was stabbed to death while babysitting her three-year-old nephew and four-year-old niece on Boxing Day. Her body was found by her mother.

### #S4/Contextualization C1

<NRS>The family of Ms Wynter, who was due to graduate from an art course at West Herts College in Watford next summer, said <IS-q>that she was a “**quiet girl** *<eINI-i>who enjoyed life*”, <NRS>adding: <DS> “*<eINI-i/N>She was a loving auntie to her niece and nephew.*”

### #S8/Contextualization E1

<NRW>Simone Goodfellow, a friend of the victim, wrote on Twitter: <DW> “**RIP my sweetest friend Katy Briscoe.** *<eINI>I knew you since primary school. <eINI>I still can’t understand it.*”

### #S9/Contextualization E2

<NRW>Rebecca Ward wrote: <DW> “**Rest in Peace Katy :( one of the loveliest people** *<eINI>I have ever had the honour of knowing.*”

### #S10/Contextualization C2/Wrap-up

<NRS>Doreen Fostery 76, <NRSAp>*who described herself as Ms Wynter’s adopted grandmother*, said: <DS> “**She was a lovely girl. She had a bubbly personality and** *<eINI-i> was never in a bad mood.*” (App. 2D, T44)

The two Contextualization strings provide different kinds of information. Contextualization C1, based on combined IS-q and DS, and Contextualization C2, based on DS, provide a personal background about the girl, commenting on her personality and strong family ties. Satellites E1 and E2 report on the event following her death, namely people’s reactions to it, describing the girl or their relation. Although the satellites provide positive evaluation of the girl (a *quiet girl who enjoyed life*, a *loving auntie* in C1, *sweetest friend* in E1, *one of the loveliest people ...* in E2) or people’s attitude (*I still can’t understand it* in E1), they do not directly evaluate the main event, i.e. the girl’s death, and thus rhetorically are not Appraisals. The affective and attitudinal character of all four satellites is primarily achieved

by direct forms of presentation, which retain the original deictic centre and describe in full the reported speaker's perspective. The DDs, perhaps less so the ID-q, are convenient hosts to the embedded instances of internal narration (e1NI, e1NI-i), describing the victim's attitudes (*who enjoyed life; was never in a bad mood*), and people's perception of her death (*I still can't understand it*).

Due to its final position and the focus on positive features of the victim's character (*lovely girl, bubbly personality, never in a bad mood*), Contextualization C2 partially drives attention away from the graveness of the situation and has the potential to wrap up the story in a more optimistic way, an approach associated typically with soft news focusing on human angle, heart-warming stories portraying an event through the eyes of an affected unknown individual (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002, 57; Dunn 2005, 141; Fulton 2005, 238). The first member of the Contextualization string, Contextualization C1, also has the potential to provide closure, which was not, however, availed of due to its non-final position.

Further discussion of Contextualization will be devoted to satellites in which direct forms co-occur with non-direct ones (and narration). The results are summarized in Table 25 below.

Contextualization : direct forms in combination with non-direct								
Satellites/ 88	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	19	55	1	24	6			105
Writing	2	6	1	4	1			14
Thought	0	0	0	2	1			3
Narration						4		4
Ambiguity							9	9
Total	21	61	2	30	8	4	9	135
Total %	15.5	45.2	1.5	22.2	5.9	3	6.7	100

Table 25: Contextualization – direct forms of presentation accompanied by non-direct forms

In percentage terms, the frequency of direct forms is similar to the data in Table 24. In general, unambiguous pure forms (60.7%) prevail over combined forms (32.6%) and the individual frequencies are as follows: DD (45.2%), ID-q (22.2%), FDD (15.5%), NRDAp-q (5.9%), 3% (N-q) and FID-q (1.5%). The following examples provide different kinds of Contextualization.

#### Example 44

##### Headline

<NRSAp-q>Home Secretary announces end to **‘ludicrous’** system of Asbos

##### Lead

<NRSAp>THE HOME Secretary yesterday read the last rites for Tony Blair's flagship policy for dealing with noisy neighbours, drunk teenagers, fly-tippers, graffiti artists and vandals.

##### #S9/Contextualization B1

<NRS>Ms May also promised yesterday <IS>to crack down on binge drinking, <NRS>saying <IS-q> the liberalisation of licensing laws had failed to produce a 24-hour drinking “**café culture**”. <NRS>She said: <DS>**“In its place we have seen an increase in the number of alcohol-related incidents and drink fuelled crime and disorder.”**

<NRS>The Home Secretary said <IS><e1NRSAp><e2NRWAp-h>a ban on selling alcohol at below cost prices was being considered, along with tougher penalties for serving under-age drinkers. (App. 2C, I6)

In example 44, an issues report, the nucleus draws attention to the Home Secretary’s announcement of the end to the anti-social behaviour orders (Asbos). The Contextualization satellite places the announcement into the context of other pronouncements by the Home Secretary, namely the changes to the licensing laws, presented in the form of IS-q, DS and IS. Meanwhile material events in event stories are often Contextualized by other – preceding or following – material events, verbal events in issues reports are often embedded within the backdrop of other verbal events in terms of which the nuclear event is interpreted. In particular, the problem of crime may be interpreted in connection with the problem of alcohol and laws that regulate its sale and consumption. The connection between the two communicative events is indicated formally by the adverbial (*also*) and the choice of verbs (*read the last rights, promise to crack down on*) signalling May’s negative attitude. Moreover, the example demonstrates how in a specific report selectivity increases the social significance of a particular aspect or theme of a speech event by putting it into the place in the generic structure characterized by informational and interpersonal prominence and relegates other aspects/themes to the role of Contextualizing satellites. Naturally, in other reports the themes (if appearing at all) could be allied with different functions in the generic structure.

Example 45, another specimen of an issues report, reports on Ukraine’s former Prime Minister’s critical comments on the introduction of a new dress code into the government

offices, signalled by the choice of unfavourable reporting verbs (*mock*, *dismiss*) and the directly quoted adjective (*laughable*).

#### Example 45

##### Headline

<NRSAp>Ex-leader mocks new dress code

##### Lead

<NRSAp-q>THE COUNTRY'S glamorous former prime minister dismissed the government's new dress code as “**laughable**” yesterday.

# ##CONCESSIVE SEQUENCE (S4)/Wrap-up

##### S4/Contextualization B1

<NRS>Some observers noted <IS>that a dress code was overdue for government offices in Ukraine, <N?>where women often wear tight, low-cut dresses to work while men are often seen in the same outfit for days in a row.

#       **xxx**

<N>But <NRSA>Anna German, an aide to President Viktor Yanukovych disagreed. <DS>“**A dress code looks archaic,**” <NRS>Ms German told Interfax news agency. <FDS> “*<eINRTAp> I look at it with irony.*” (App. 2C, I18)

Unlike in example 44, the statements in the nucleus and Contextualization satellite are uttered by different speakers. Contextualization provides additional comments on the dress code and although it simultaneously conveys evaluation (*overdue*, *archaic*) and the reported speaker's attitude (*I look at it with irony*), it is not to be understood as Appraisal since the nucleus is not primarily about the introduction of the new dress code but mainly about Yulia Tymoshenko's negative evaluation, and the satellite does not directly evaluate Tymoshenko's opinion or statement. The function of the satellite is rather to provide balanced and objective background to the statement in the nucleus by means of specifying other officials' points of view, which due to the presence of contrast indicated by the conjunction (*but*) and the reporting verb (*disagreed*) form a concessive sequence. The connection between the reference to the dress code in the nucleus and its evaluation in the satellite is thus much weaker.

The parallelism of the nucleus and satellite is indicated by the presence of evaluative reporting verbs and adjectives, but also by an analogous structure mainly of the non-direct forms of presentation: the reported speaker (*Ex-leader*, *the country's glamorous former prime minister*, *some observes*, *Anna German*, *I ...*) is in the thematic position of the reporting clause

(if distinguished), followed by the speech or thought act verb (*mock, dismiss, note, disagree, look at*) and, if content is reported, it is found in the post-verbal position, referring to the dress code and its evaluation (*new dress code, the government's new dress code as laughable, a dress code was overdue..., it with irony*). Though this sequence is probably the most common pattern in general, it is by no means the only possibility.

The next example shows a verbal event Contextualized by an extra-vocalised reference to a material event.

Example 46

### Headline

<NRSAp>Mother tells of lucky escape on drive home from shopping

### Lead

<NRSAp-q>A mother of two whose car was hit by a large rock dropped from a road bridge spoke yesterday of her “**very, very lucky**” escape.

### #S3/Contextualization B1

<N>Last night, <NRS>detectives revealed <IS>that they are investigating similarities with about thirty other incidents along the same stretch of road over the past three years, including a period of about a dozen attacks in November 2008. <N>One incident, in which a large piece of concrete smashed through the roof of a Land Rover Discovery on November 12, 2008, took place beneath the same motorway bridge where Ms Horne had her narrow escape.

### #S11/Contextualization B2

<FIS-q>In 2008, two motorists were injured and several vehicles were damaged after “**all kinds of debris**” were thrown in a series of attacks, <NRS>police said. <NRS>Detective Chief Inspector Keith Davies said: <DS>“**It would be foolish to *<e1NRT>not consider <e1IT-h>that these last incidents are in some way linked to some of the attacks in 2008. They are similar because of both the bridge used, and also the type of missile.***” <NRS>He said <IS>that three teenage boys, who were arrested in 2008 but *<e1NRSA-h>not charged, <e1NRSA-h>would be questioned.* (App. 2D, T34)

In Example 46, the nucleus deals with an intentionally caused car accident (material event) and the relief expressed by the victim at surviving it unharmed (verbal event). The satellites B1 and B2 provide comparison with previous material events which show some aspects of similarity as to where (*along the same stretch of road, beneath the same motorway bridge*) and how (*a large piece of concrete smashed through the roof..., all kinds of debris*



*were thrown ...*) the incidents took place. Placing the event in the nucleus alongside those in B1 and B2 excludes the possibility of interpreting the former as a chance occurrence and magnifies the seriousness of the event without directly evaluating it. The voice of the police establishes the connection between the events and gives credibility to such interpretation, especially if reported in DD. The two satellites observe the pattern noted in the case of Elaboration strings, namely that an event, reported in B1 in a non-direct form (IS) and narration, appears in B2 in a more direct form, namely FIS-q and DS, showing a gradual increase in the strength with which the perspective of the reported speaker is revealed.

Example 47 deals with the problem of home education in connection with children's safety. The nucleus and Contextualization are based on two different communicative events.

#### Example 47

##### Headline

<FDS//FIS//IS>**Home education rules will have to change, <NRS>says Gove**

##### Lead

<NRS>Michael Gove, the Education Secretary, said yesterday<IS> that changes would be made to the home education system if <e1NRT//N> *it was found <e1IT-h//N>that it left some children at greater risk of abuse or neglect.*

##### #S6/ Contextualization C1

<NRW>Last summer a government report into home education by Graham Badman, a former head teacher and director of children's services, suggested <IW>that there may be a need for vigilance. <FIW//IW>Proportionately, <e1NI-i>*twice as many home educated children are known to social services as school-age children within the mainstream education system,* <NRW>the report said.

#<FDW><e1NI>*It is a cause of concern that, although <e1NI-i>approximately 20,000 home educated children are known to local authorities, <e1NRSAp>estimates vary as to the real number, which could be in excess of 80,000.*

<NRW>The report concluded: <DW><e1NRT>*I am not persuaded <e1IT>that under the current regulatory regime there is a correct balance between the rights of the parents and the rights of the child.*" (App. 2D, T6)

The nucleus suggests that new rules regarding home education may come into effect if necessary. The Contextualization satellite draws attention to a previous communicative event, a government report which expressly warns against the current rules of home education,

which place home educated children at greater risk of abuse. Consequently, the view propped in the satellite can function to rhetorically support the nucleus and the proposal to change the rules. The nucleus-satellite relation can be seen as a thesis-argument structure in which the former makes a claim and the latter proves or refutes its validity (Smirnova 2009, 88). In this case, the Contextualization satellite draws on statistical data and provides “empirical proof” for the claim in the nucleus and amplifies its effect with “an appeal to emotions” (*a cause of concern*) (Smirnova 2009, 94-96).

Smirnova (2009, 89), studying the role of reported language in argumentation structures in newspaper discourse, claims that even e.g. in opinion articles explicit argumentation is infrequent and either the thesis or/and arguments are “disguised as informative”. In this example, both the thesis/nucleus and argument/Contextualization are extra-vocalised and as such inform what has been said or written. In line with reporter voice, (pseudo-)argumentation, especially the slot for the argument, is not normally the meaning put at risk outside extra-vocalised contexts (White 1998). The satellite is realized by a common bi-directional sequence of forms of presentation, i.e. non-direct forms (IW, FIW//IW) that summarize and interpret the following direct forms (FDW, DW), which reinforce and justify the interpretation.

Another aspect that detracts from the argumentative power of the satellite is that in the nucleus-satellite structure, mapped onto the thesis-argument structure, the two speech situations are presented as two separate communicative events, related temporally rather than rhetorically. In addition, the reference to the report, and thus the argument for the proposal, is not supplied by the author of the thesis, Michael Gove, but by the journalist himself. The argumentation is therefore not merely reported but in fact created after re-contextualization of the communicative events in the nucleus and satellite, but even though there may be an intention on the part of the journalist to propagate a particular opinion, the more implicit connection makes it possible for him to purport that he only chronicles but not argues for or against a particular issue. Contextualization can serve as a suitable device to open space for argumentation but in a manner that is subtle and more implicit than in Cause-Effect relations, and if endorsed as such, it is supplied by the reader himself rather than explicitly marked.

In the last unambiguous example to be discussed the source of disruption is a parasailing accident resulting in one of the news actors’ death.

#### Example 48

##### Headline

<NRSAp>Man joked about parasail <N> before falling to his death

##### Lead

<NRS>THE DAUGHTER of a man who fell 150ft to his death in a parasailing accident said yesterday <IS>that moments before the accident<e1NRSAp>*her father joked about what would happen if the harness snapped.*

##### #S4/Contextualization A1

<N>Mr Hudson's wife Linda, 51, had been sunbathing, <NI-i> unaware of what was going on. <NRS>When her daughter told her <IS>what had happened, <N> they ran to where he had fallen, but were blocked from going any further by Turkish men.

#<NRS>Mrs Hudson asked<IS> if her husband was dead. <DS>“<e1NRS>*He said,* <e1DS>‘*Yes, he is.*’ <e1NV//N>*I started screaming. I can't let the pain* <e1NI-i>*we're experiencing happen again,*” <NRS> she said. (App. 2C, I7)

The nucleus refers to the fatal accident and the Contextualization describes in the form of a chronological recount the events that followed (*mother sunbathing, daughter telling her what happened, running to the spot and being blocked by the police, asking them what happened, reacting to the news*). Such narrative sequences make the text more personal and soft news-like. A part of the conversation between the police and the victim's wife is re-enacted in the form of direct speech (e1DS), embedded in the host DS. Also, the stretch of non-embedded DS ends with a kind of evaluation typical of the evaluation stage in personal narratives (*I can't let the pain we're experiencing happen again*). Thus, as in some of the above examples, Contextualization provides evaluation, in this case offering at the same time a personal point of view of the story. Forms of presentation, and especially direct forms, are an effective means of providing chronological description and conversation-like turns, accompanied by a switch in the rhetorical strategy from reporting to narration, not consonant with the text-time orientation and social role of hard news.

Contextualization is involved in two most frequent indeterminacies in the nucleus-satellite relation. Out of 68 ambiguities, indeterminacy between Contextualization and Appraisal represents 18 instances, and between Elaboration and Contextualization 12 instances. Example 49 shows indeterminacy between Contextualization and Appraisal. The nucleus identifies the threat to the status quo as plans to make prisoners work full time, and its negative consequence, namely fewer jobs for other citizens.

#### Example 49

##### Headline

<N-q>Prison jobs ‘**could put law-abiding workers on the dole**’

##### Lead

<FIS//IS>KENNETH Clarke's plans to make criminals work full-time in jail could cost law-abiding citizens jobs, <NRS>prison governors have suggested.

##### #S5/Contextualization A1 (Appraisal)

<NRSAp>The governors also questioned the ability of many prisoners to carry out the meaningful work that <e1NRSAp>*Mr Clarke is advocating*.

#<FIS-q><e1NI-i>*Prisoners were “generally reluctant to engage in meaningful work,”*  
<NRS>the governors said.

#<FDS>“**Many suffer from the influence of years of substance misuse or mental health problems, both of which severely impact on the delivery of quality work.**” (App. 2A, DT27)

The problem is construed as a verbal event, a suggestion by prison governors, and Contextualized in satellite 5 by other related statements. Contextualization A1 openly questions prisoners’ ability and attitude to work: the reference to *their ability to carry out meaningful work/deliver quality work* is an instance of inscribed judgement of capacity (White 1998, Martin and White 2005, 52-56), and *their reluctance to engage in meaningful work* is an instance of inscribed affect of (dis)satisfaction, expressing their lack of interest (White 1998, Martin and White 2005, 45-52). Not untypically, the affective evaluation is expressed by embedded inferred internal narration (e1NI-i). In accordance with reporter’s voice, the presence of inscribed appraisal requires extra-vocalisation, especially direct and combined forms. However, the satellite does not serve to evaluate prisoners but relates back to the nucleus and the proposal to engage prisoners in work. Direct negative evaluation of some aspects of the proposal may trigger indirect metonymic evaluation of the plan itself; note that the satellite contains a reference to the proposal in the form of embedded narrator’s representation of speech act with topic (e1NRSAp, *the work that Mr Clark is advocating*). Thus the inscribed judgement and affect in Contextualization A1 may invoke indirect appreciation of the plan, hence the ambiguity with Appraisal.

Issues reports are a rich source of extra-vocalised Contextualization satellites; the illocutionary event in the nucleus is often Contextualized by communicative events which preceded or followed, or which serve for comparison, bearing traits of resemblance or parallelism. However, ontological identity of the nuclear and Contextualizing event is not

necessary and material events may Contextualize verbal events and vice versa. Also, the choice of event(s) to be presented in the nucleus as opposed to those functioning as Contextualization demonstrates the principle of selectivity underlying the organization of the orbital structure.

Looking at the examples above, direct forms of presentation are put to various uses. They may provide personal background information about a protagonist (example 43) or contain evaluative items which need to be extra-vocalised in order to comply with reporter voice (example 45). Contextualization may be conducive to certain understanding or perception of the nucleus, or contribute to its positive or negative portrayal without appraising it directly (examples 44-46). Extra-vocalisation may be required if the Contextualizing event is presented in a manner not rhetorically consonant with the genre of hard news (e.g. the narrative account in example 48). Similarly, Contextualization can be a source of implicit semi-argumentation, which in the guise of reporting could, if interpreted as such, provide evidence supporting or refuting the claim made in the thesis/nucleus (example 47). These differ from more explicit and direct argumentation constructed in Cause-and-Effect satellites.

Finally, Contextualization satellites may manifest linearizing rhetorical strategies, including concessive/concurring sequences (example 45), and create Contextualization strings (example 46). In Contextualization satellites (example 47) and across Contextualization strings, narration, non-direct, combined and pure direct forms of presentation may exhibit not an infrequent pattern of gradual increase in particularization and orientation to the reported speaker, noted also in Elaboration satellites. The following section focuses on Cause-and-Effect satellites which contract a more direct relation with the nucleus.

## **6.7 Cause and Effect: Consequence**

Consequence expresses various causal relations, ranging from cause and reason, consequence, result or purpose (White 1998, 278, 340). Even though the number of Consequence satellites (84) is comparatively low, the relative occurrence of direct and non-direct forms of presentation and narration invites comparison with the most frequent satellite – Elaboration. About half of the satellites (44, 52.4%) are characterised by the absence of direct forms, and the remaining 14 (16.7%) and 26 (30.9%) satellites contain direct forms (and narration) and direct forms accompanied by non-direct forms (and narration) respectively. Table 26 looks at the occurrence of direct forms.

Consequence: direct forms only (+N)								
Satellites /14	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	3	8	0	2	1			14
Writing	2	1	0	0	0			3
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						0		0
Ambiguity							0	0
Total	5	9	0	2	1	0	0	17
Total %	29.4	52.9	0	11.8	5.9	0	0	100

Table 26: Consequence – direct forms of presentation

Looking at the percentage of direct forms, (F)DD (29.4% of FDD and 52.9% of DD) outnumbered combined forms (11.8% of ID-q and 5.9% of NRDAp-q). However, the number of Consequence satellites in general and those built solely on direct forms in particular (14 satellites, 17 direct forms) is too low to allow hard and fast conclusions. The following examples show different Cause-Effect relations.

In example 50, the nucleus describes a clash between internet social network providers and the Indian government in which the former are asked to remove content deemed inappropriate by the latter.

#### Example 50

##### Headline

<NRS>Facebook and Google told <IS>to remove <eINI-i//N>*offensive items*

##### Lead

<NRS>The Indian government has told social networking giants Facebook, Google, Yahoo and Microsoft<IS-q> to remove material that might <eINI-h>“*offend Indian sensibilities*”, <NRWA>unleashing a storm of criticism from internet users in the world’s largest democracy. ...

##### #S8/Cause and effect: Consequence A1

<NRS>Facebook <IS-q>said “**any content that violates [its] terms**” would be removed.

(App. 2B, G40)

The Consequence satellite specifies the result of the debate, namely Facebook’s promise to remove the disputed content, reported in the IS-q. The nucleus and the satellite are based on verbal acts: the nucleus contains a proposal and the satellite the commitment to

comply with it. These modal meanings are likely to be attributed. Both IS-qs highlight by means of a direct quote the theme of the allegedly controversial content (*material that might “offend Indian sensibilities”, “any content that violates its terms”*).

Example 51 is an excerpt from a news report dealing with the effects of alcohol on arthritis.

Example 51

### Headline

<N>Alcohol could help arthritis sufferers

### Lead

<FIW//IW//N>DRINKING alcohol regularly may reduce the chance of developing rheumatoid arthritis and is linked to milder forms of the disease in those who do get it, <NRW//N> research has found.

### #S3/Cause and effect: Consequence A1

<NI-i>It is not known how much alcohol they drank <N> but <NRW>the team said<IW> it may be that alcohol reduces the body’s immune response, dampening down the symptoms.

### #S7/Cause and effect: Consequence A2

<NRS>The study’s lead author, Dr James Maxwell, a consultant rheumatologist, said: <DS>  
**“There is some evidence to show that alcohol suppresses the activity of the immune system, and that this may influence the pathways by which RA develops.**

# <FDS>**“Once someone has developed RA, it’s possible that the anti-inflammatory and analgesic effects of alcohol may play a role in reducing the severity of symptoms.”**

(App. 2A, DT9)

The nucleus points to the fact that alcohol may reduce the chance of developing the illness or its severity once it has developed. The Consequence string suggests the cause of the positive effects, namely that *alcohol reduces the body’s immune response* in A1 and that *alcohol suppresses the activity of the immune system* and has *anti-inflammatory and analgesic effects* in A2. The explanation is offered in a two-satellite string with a switch from a more summarizing and interpretative form with a general source of attribution (IW, *team*) to a form with lower intervention of the journalist and greater adherence to the original event the source of which has now been particularized (DS, FDS, *Dr James Maxwell*). The directly quoted scientific voice lends credibility to the report and may be even required on account of the specialized knowledge needed for the explanation.

Table 27 summarizes the frequency of direct forms occurring with non-direct ones (and narration) in the total of 26 satellites.

Consequence : direct forms in combination with non-direct								
Satellites /26	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	3	16	0	10	2			31
Writing	0	0	0	1	1			2
Thought	0	0	0	1	0			1
Narration						1		1
Ambiguity							1	1
Total	3	16	0	12	3	1	1	36
Total %	8.3	44.5	0	33.3	8.3	2.8	2.8	100

Table 27: Consequence – direct forms of presentation accompanied by non-direct forms

The incidence of pure direct and combined forms is more balanced than in Table 26, though still tilted in favour of the former. The frequency of the individual forms is not unlike in Elaboration, listed in the descending order: DD (44.5%), ID-q (33.3%), FDD (8.3%) and NRDAp-q (8.3%), and finally N-q (2.8%). As the numbers are too low, rather than to resort to sweeping generalizations, attention will be paid to concrete examples.

Example 52 illustrates the argumentative potential of Consequence satellites and an instance of indeterminacy between Consequence and Appraisal, which is the third most frequent kind of ambiguity (11 cases). Although the perspective on the function of reported language is primarily generic, the excerpt will be looked at informally in terms of the thesis-argument structure mapped onto the nucleus-satellite structure. This will also allow comparison between Consequence, Contextualization and Justification. The unambiguous satellite will be discussed first.

#### Example 52

##### Headline

<N>Doctors may lose right <NRSAp-h>to refuse abortions

##### Lead

<N>THE right of doctors<NRS> to refuse <IS-h>to refer women for abortions on the grounds of conscientious objection <N>is under threat from the Council of Europe.

##### #S4/Cause and effect: Consequence A1

<NRS>Politicians behind the move say <IS><eINRS>growing numbers of doctors are refusing<eIIS> to become involved in abortions, depriving women, particularly from poor



backgrounds, of the procedure. <N>In the Lazio region of Italy, which covers Rome, <NRS>about 86 per cent of doctors refuse <IS>to deal with abortions.

# <NRS>Baroness Royall, the former Labour health spokesman, has said<IS> British doctors are increasingly shunning the practice.

#### #S5/Cause and effect: Consequence A2

<NRWA>The proposal has been drawn up by Christine McCafferty, the council's British Socialist member and the former Labour MP for the Calder Valley who lost her seat at the general election. <NRS>Miss McCafferty said <IS><e1NRT>members feared <e1IT-qi>the use of conscientious objection affected women on “**low incomes or living in rural areas**”.

# <NRS>She said: <DS> “**There is a need to balance the right of conscientious objection of an individual with the responsibility of the profession.**”

#### #S9/Cause and effect: Consequence B1 (Appraisal)

<NRS>Dr Andrew Fergusson, from the Christian Medical Fellowship, said <IS-q>clamping down on conscientious objection would “**drive out of medicine the very people <e1NI-i>we want to see there**”. (App. 2A, DT33)

Example 52 draws attention to the issue of conscientious objection in medicine which doctors can resort to when refusing to become involved in abortions. The whole issue is presented from doctors' point of view – in the nucleus the conscientious objection is referred to as their right which is under threat. On the other hand, in the Consequence string (A1 and A2) an opposing attitude is adopted and the reasons are provided for why the use of conscientious objection should be restricted.

Consequence A1 specifies the reasons why conscientious objection should be abandoned – a growing increase in its application, infringing on the right of women to the procedure (*Politicians behind the move say growing numbers of doctors are ...., depriving women, particularly...*). The reference to the right of patients, especially those in difficult life situation, may work to evoke empathy on the part of the reader. The reason itself becomes a thesis and is then supported by the following stretch of narration and indirect speech, providing empirical evidence resting on the statistical data on the extent of refusals (*In the Lazio region of Italy...86%...*). Discoursally, the IS (*about 86 per cent of doctors refuse to deal with abortions*) appears non-embedded and it cannot be stated unequivocally whether the appeal to the statistical data was part of the original argumentation (in which case a clearer alternative construction would be *Politicians behind the move say about 86 per cent of doctors...*), whether it was taken from a part of the same discourse with a different rhetorical function or whether it was excerpted from an

entirely different text. Although no exact data are offered for Britain and Baroness Royal merely claims (IS) the problem of doctors avoiding referrals applies to Britain as well, the appeal to a person of expertise and authority may in itself give the statement argumentative weight.

Consequence A2 names the author of the proposal and reiterates in the sequence of an embedded combined indirect thought (e1IT-qi) and DS the reasons why conscientious objection is to be discarded (...*affected women on "low incomes..."*, "...*a need to balance the right of conscientious objection of an individual with the responsibility of the profession.*"). The e1IT-qi emphasises the seriousness of the problem (the thought act verb *fear*), puts the reported speaker in a positive light by indicating their sympathy and to an extent justifies their requirement. The string employs strategies combining emotional appeal, empirical claim and appeal to authority (Smirnova 2009, 92-100). Also, the statements are structured so that the reason/argument against conscientious objection (doctors use it too much, avoid their responsibility and restrict the right of women) is supported by an argument of a different kind (statistical data, authority). Also, the element of reiteration of the main point across the string and gradual orientation to the reported speaker's deictic centre and perspective may strengthen the argumentative potential of the string.

In comparison to Contextualization satellites which could also possibly act as rhetorical support for or against the elements in the nucleus (for instance example 47 above), the link between the nucleus and Consequence seems more direct. Except temporal proximity and overlap between the speakers in the nucleus (*threat by the Council of Europe*) and in the Consequence (*politicians behind the move, Christine McCafferty, the council's British Socialist member*), there is also a formal link in each of the satellites referring to the nucleus: *the move* in A1 and *the proposal* in A2. Still, as already mentioned, there is a discrepancy between the point of view in the nucleus and the satellites. The satellites, introducing the voice of the politicians, cannot in strict rhetorical terms provide arguments for the thesis in the nucleus, based on the doctors' opposing voice, illustrating a fallacy of the argument when one thesis is proclaimed (doctors' right is under threat) but proved another (conscientious objection should be restricted) (Smirnova 2009, 98). Such pseudo-argumentative structures may partially result from the selectivity of the nucleus in which one angle is given preference over another but the satellites providing heteroglossic background of divergent voices are, however, still assessed in connection with the voice and angle in the nucleus. The clash in point of view contrasts with the requirement of shared point of view between the nucleus and Justification satellite, discussed in the following section.

Now let us turn attention to Consequence B1 ambiguous with Appraisal. The satellite specifies a possible negative consequence of the abolition of conscientious objection, namely

doctors leaving the profession (*driving out of medicine the very people we want to see there*), highlighted by the partial quote in the IS-q. Although the satellite does not rely on any inherently evaluative items, the negative experiential meaning of the proposition specifying the consequence may provoke indirect negative judgment of the Council of Europe and their proposal (White 1998; Martin and White 2005, 67). The indirect evaluation is “metonymically implicated”, based on contiguity or logical association, in this case between the negative consequence and its cause, the actions by the Council of Europe (Bednarek 2009, 117-118). The negative interpretation is also triggered by the embedded internal narration (e1NI-i, *we want to see there*), reporting a positive affective meaning along the dimension of happiness, which is under the threat of being denied to the “emoter” (White, 1998, Martin and White 2005, Bednarek 2009). A positive evaluation of an entity implied by its positive consequence has been noted by Haupt (forthcoming) in popular science news wherein a scientific discovery is indirectly evaluated as a positive phenomenon through its positive or beneficial consequences for the lay public.

Consequence satellites are one of the least frequent ones. Even though Consequence may rely on external voices, Cause-Effect relations make the report more analytical, expository or explanatory, draw it away to a degree from the purported function of mere chronicling and place it closer to debate or argumentative style. Argumentation as a rhetorical strategy shows low compatibility with reporter voice and is thus extra-vocalised and guised as informative discourse, superficially only reporting propositions or proposals (Smirnova 2009, 89; van Leeuwen 1987). However, it may not be clear how much of the argumentative structure has been (re)created in the process of recontextualization by the reporter and how much the selection of partial quotes influences the direction and effectiveness of argumentation. The following section looks at two marginal satellites whose low occurrence is connected to the relation they specify and the rhetorical objective of hard news, namely Justification and Counter-Justification.

## **6.8 Cause and Effect: Justification and Counter-Justification**

Counter-Justification and Justification supply textual Cause-Effect relations. They are marginal to the functionality of hard news and as they are both argumentative in nature, they will be discussed together. Justification specifies why a particular claim has been made and is largely confined to issues reports, where it provides evidence or reasoning for the proposition or proposal in the nucleus (White 1998, 116-123, 339-340; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 106-111). As informational utterances involving statements or claims, propositions “put at

risk degrees of agreement or disagreement”, whereas proposals, involving offers or demands aiming to manipulate the behaviour of others, “put at risk degrees of either compliance with, or acceptance of some attempt at manipulation” (White 1998, 116). Justification provides rhetorical support for the negotiated agreement with a proposition or the negotiated compliance with the proposal and in contrast to Consequence satellites (example 52) the points of view evoked in the nucleus and in Justification need to be compatible.

As shown in Table 5, the total number of Justification satellites is 23 (100%), one of the lowest scores per a satellite type. A possible explanation for such low occurrence is the rhetorical purpose of hard news, which is not to argue but to chronicle. Eleven satellites (47.8%) are characterised by the lack of direct or combined forms; 12 satellites are characterised by the presence of direct forms of presentation with (4 satellites, 17.4%) and without (8 satellites, 34.8%) non-direct forms. As the 12 satellites contain only 20 direct forms, the results for the two satellite types are provided together. In Table 28 the numbers before the slash refer to direct and combined forms appearing without non-direct forms; the numbers after the slash refer to direct and combined forms appearing accompanied by non-direct forms. As shown, FDD (30%) and DD (40%) prevail over combined forms (20% ID-q, 5% FID-q and 5% NRDAp-q).

Justification: direct forms only (+N) /direct forms in combination with non-direct								
Satellites/8/4	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	5/1	5/2	0/1	1/2	0/1			18
Writing	0	1/0	0	1/0	0			2
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						0		0
Ambiguity							0	0
Total	6	8	1	4	1	0	0	20
Total	30	40	5	20	5	0	0	100

Table 28: Justification – direct forms of presentation with and without non-direct forms

Examples of Justification will be provided below together with Counter-Justification. Counter-Justification aims to challenge or undermine the proposition or proposal in the nucleus (White 2000, 385). Like Justification, Counter-Justification is not very numerous, counting 33 satellites, out of which 15 (45.5%) lack direct forms; in 11 (33.3%) and 7 (21.2%) satellites direct forms occur with and without non-direct forms (and narration)

respectively. The direct forms appearing in both types of satellites are summarized in Table 29 below.

Cause and effect: Counter-Justification: direct forms only (+N)/direct forms in combination with non-direct								
Satellites/7/11	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	2/1	5/7	0	3/4	0			22
Writing	0	0	0	0	0			0
Thought	0	0	0	0	0/1			1
Narration						0		0
Ambiguity							0	0
Total	3	12	0	7	1	0	0	23
Total %	13	52.2	0	30.4	4.4	0	0	100

Table 29: Counter-Justification – direct forms of presentation with and without non-direct forms

As in the case of Justification, FDD (13%) and DD (52.2%) outnumber ID-q (30.4%) and NRDAp-q (4.4%) but as the frequency is very low in both satellites, no attempt at generalization will be made and focus will be placed on the discussion of concrete examples. Although the examples were selected to illustrate both relations, it is not to imply that Counter-Justification and Justification must necessarily co-occur in one report.

The nucleus in example 53 is a combination of a proposition and proposal. The Lead reports a proposal by the communication watchdog Ofcom (Office of Communications) urging internet providers to advertise average not top speed of the broadband connection they supply. It contains an embedded partially quoted hypothetical narrator's representation of speech/writing act with topic (e1NRSAP-qh//e1NRWAp-qh). The ambiguity was postulated since it can apply both to written and spoken advertisements; the hypotheticality of the advertising act is in line with it being non-actual but desirable, existing only within the deontic subjectivity of the proposal (see e.g. Ryan 1991, Semino et al. 1999); the partial quote highlights the key phrase of the proposal ("*average rates*"). The embedded proposal and the host category of an ambiguous (free) indirect writing (FIW//IW) create a double structure which is overtly a report/proposition (... *watchdog said yesterday*) and covertly a proposal (e.g. van Leeuwen 1987).

The second headline phrases the event as a proposition realized by a sequence of narration (N) and indirect writing (IW), embedding an inferred narrator's representation of thought act with topic (e1NRTAp-i), referring to what is expected to be the case but is not and

hence becomes the subject of the proposal. The variability of forms capturing the extra-linguistic reality demonstrates the crucial role of the reporter in how the point of disruption is portrayed.<sup>52</sup>

#### Example 53

##### Headline

<NRWAp-h//NRSAp-h>Broadband adverts must list average not top speed

##### Headline

<N>Regulator acts after <NRW>report finds <IW>users get only half *<eINRTAp-i>expected speed* on average

##### Lead

<FIW//IW><eINRSAp-qh//eINRWAp-qh>**BROADBAND speeds must be advertised as “average rates” and not top speeds**, <NRW>the communications watchdog said yesterday.

##### #S5/Cause and effect: Justification A1

<NRWA>In a formal submission to the Advertising Standards Authority and the Committee on Advertising Practice, <NRWAp> Ofcom likens introducing broadband speed range to standard measures for miles per gallon in car sales, or annual percentage rate in financial services.

#<NRS>Ed Richards, the chief executive of Ofcom, has said <IS-q >that the “**common currency**” is vital for consumers, <N>and <NRSAp-q>criticised the “**growing gap**” between *<eINRSAp//eINRWAp>advertised speeds* and those actually received.

##### #S7/Cause and effect: Counter-Justification A1

<NRS>BT said <IS-q><eINRSAp//eINRWAp>*it “gives customers the most consistently accurate prediction of the speed specific to their line”*, <NRS>adding <IS> that it has signed up to Ofcom's industry code which will compel firms *<eINRWAp-h>to give customers a written estimate of the speed they will actually receive.* (App. 2A, DT12)

In the Justification satellite, Ofcom and its representative repeat the problem from the nucleus (the thesis), i.e. the gap between the advertised and the actual speed, and stress the importance of the common currency. The key words referring to the problem (*growing gap*) and the solution (*common currency*) are selected for direct quote. Ofcom is reported as comparing broadband speeds to standard measures e.g. in car industry or financial services.

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<sup>52</sup> For a comparison of two reports from different newspapers covering an identical event once construed as a proposal and once as proposition with repercussions for the occurrence of Justification and Counter-Justification satellites see DT49 in Appendix 2A and T30 in Appendix 2D.

Although the argument is not spelled out expressly and the path from the thesis to the argument may be more indirect and must be to an extent (re)constructed by the reader, it seems to be based on analogy with the mentioned business areas (Smirnova 2009, 92-93) and may run as follows: the use of average standard measures like miles per gallon or annual percentage rates is something that has been in use and has been accepted, and if broadband speeds are like these measures, then probably we should accept introducing average broadband speed range as well.

The Counter-Justification satellite presents an adversary point of view of one of the internet providers, the voice of the British Telecom, which contradicts the difference purported to exist between the expected and actually received speed. The key words which are the main source of contradiction are partially quoted in the IS-q (“*gives customers the most consistently accurate prediction of the speed specific to their line*”). The presence of Counter-Justification testifies to the selectivity of the nucleus since if the nucleus was balanced and presented BT’s point of view as the other opposing angle on the story, it would re-appear in the body of the text not as Counter-Justification but as e.g. Elaboration.

Example 54 is also a reported proposal, in which Jersey’s tourism representatives urge weather forecasters to inform regularly about the island’s weather. The internal narration (*Jersey wants...*, NI-i) in the Headline establishes the point of view (and partially the perspective) of the island of Jersey and corresponds with the deontic meaning in the Lead, which is construed as a more explicit verbal act (*urge*, IS-q) with the partial quote highlighting the problem (“*forecast discrimination*”) and the motivation for making the proposal.

Example 54

### **Headline**

<NI-i>Jersey wants BBC to put it on weather map

### **Lead**

<NRS>The BBC and the Met Office are today urged <IS-q>to bring an end to “**forecast discrimination**” by putting Jersey on the national weather map.

### **S1/Cause and effect: Justification A1**

<NRS>The island's tourism authority claims<IS> Jersey and its neighbouring Channel Islands are missing out on millions of pounds of revenue from prospective visitors.  
<NRWAp>A petition also calls for <eINRSA-h>*more accurate forecasts* to reflect its sunny climate.

#### #S4/Cause and effect: Justification A2

<NRS>David de Carteret, director of Jersey Tourism, said: <DS>“**Jersey has more sunshine hours than anywhere in the British Isles and being excluded does us a disservice.**

#<FDS>“*<e1NI-i>Many people don't have any idea just how lovely the weather is a short hop away from the mainland - meaning we lose out on valuable income.*”

#### #S5/Contextualization A1

<N>Jersey benefits from prevailing southwest winds and the Gulf Stream and has 2,000 sunshine hours a year, with temperatures reaching 30C (86F).

#### #S6/Cause and effect: Counter-Justification A1

<NRS>The BBC said<IS-q> its maps regularly showed Jersey and it was possible to zoom in on the area if there was a “**significant**” weather event. (App. 2B, G12)

The angle selected for the nucleus is retained and further reinforced by the two-satellite string of Justification A1 (IS) and Justification A2 (DS, FDS), originating with the same source but repeated with greater particularization of the referring expression (*the island's tourism authority* in A1, *David de Carteret, director of Jersey Tourism* in A2) and a shift towards the reported speaker's perspective fully evoked by the retention of the deictic centre in the (F)DS. The arguments lend support to why the requirement is legitimate and should be complied with, namely low awareness of Jersey's sunny climate and subsequent financial losses in the business.

As shown in the discussion of the role of reported language in various parts of the orbital structure, some satellite types tend to attract forms of presentation more than others, and even though reported language is not an a priori criterion in the delimitation of generic categories, its presence does affect the rhetorical function of a satellite. Let us compare the Justification satellites with the adjacent Contextualization A1. Contextualization A1 provides background information about Jersey's weather, presented in an unattributed and hence more monoglossic, fact-like manner, excluding or backgrounding the perspective/point of view of others. The shift from Justification A2 to Contextualization A1 is accompanied by a switch in perspective/point of view from the external voice to the journalist, i.e. from heteroglossia to monoglossia, triggering simultaneously a change in the generic function from argumentative Justification to more indirect Contextualization. Although Contextualization A1 can work to support the angle established in the nucleus or the argumentation presented in the preceding Justification A2, the connection is more indirect and established by the reader.



The nucleus does not give space to the other voice in the argument and the denial of the alleged forecast discrimination is relegated to the status of mere Counter-Justification, challenging compliance with the proposal in the nucleus. Moreover, Counter-Justification forms only a one-satellite string so that it does not benefit from the repetitive pattern of a two-or more-satellite cycle. Equally importantly, the word selected for the partial quote highlights that despite regular forecasts special attention is given to the island's weather only if there is a *significant* event, which weakens the power of the counter-argument. Furthermore, it shows how the argumentative potential of a form of presentation can be manipulated. Consequently, even though both sides of the story are present, they are not balanced and one point of view is clearly favoured: it is given space in the nucleus and the arguments supporting the thesis are delivered in instalments and thus also remain in focus. On the other hand, the contrasting point of view is not represented in the nucleus and is reported in a form that suggests disagreement and reservation.

In example 55 the propositions in the Headline and Lead raise concerns about the future of the Serengeti plain in Tanzania (N, N-q), which is important for animal migration and which is now threatened by Tanzanian government's proposal to build a highway in the region (IS).

#### Example 55

##### **Headline**

<N-q>Highway across Serengeti '**will bring migration of wildebeest to dead end**'

##### **Lead**

<N>The world's biggest migration, in which almost two million animals stampede through the grass plains of the Serengeti in search of fresh grazing, is threatened by <NRS>proposals <IS>to build a highway across their path.

##### **#S2/Cause and effect: Justification A1**

<NRS>The Tanzanian Government argues <IS>that the road, <N?>*which is to run for 300 miles from Arusha at the foot of Mount Meru to Musoma on Lake Victoria*, is needed to link fast-growing communities and economies on either side of the Serengeti.

##### **#S5/Cause and effect: Counter-Justification A1**

<DS>"**All precautions have been taken to make sure that the wildlife is not affected,**" <NRS>he told a campaign rally last month. <FDS>"**What I can assure the activists is that the Serengeti shall not die.**" (App. 2D, T23)

Contrary to example 54, both Justification and Counter-Justification maintain the point of view of one side of the argument, namely Tanzania. Their perspective is supported by Justification A1, giving arguments (IS) explaining why the new road is needed. The argument is based on “teleological proof” i.e. the thesis – the proposal to build the highway – is justified by its ends, a positive effect on the economy and communities living in the area (Smirnova 2009, 94). The Counter-Justification (DS, FDS) then challenges the assertion in the nucleus, denying that wildlife will be affected. The partial quote in the nucleus (*‘will bring migration of wildebeest to dead end’*) highlighting the fatal consequences for the wildlife clearly contrasts with the assurances in Counter-Justification (*“...the wildlife is not affected, ...the Serengeti shall not die.”*).

The above examples point to a number of important aspects related to Justification and Counter-Justification satellites. They are textual Cause-Effect relations and argue for or against a proposition or proposal presented in the nucleus. Justification maintains the angle selected for the nucleus whereas Counter-Justification establishes a point of view that is in opposition. Consequently, the presence of these satellites may be indicative of the selectivity of the nucleus and possible lack of balance in the way the event is portrayed. Selectivity can be strikingly apparent in partial quotes, in which the emphasised words carry the main argumentative load (example 53), or diminish the rhetorical power of the quote (example 54). Naturally, as (F)DD can reveal purely the perspective of the reported speaker and re-enact or re-create the original argumentation, it is also effective in maintaining the nuclear voice or bringing onto the scene an opposing voice.

Counter-Justification and Justification add argumentative flavour to the report. For example, nucleus-Justification can be viewed as a thesis-argument sequence. Their presence makes hard news closer to other media genres. For instance, White (1998, 352) suggests a close affinity between the orbitally organized issues report and media discussion<sup>53</sup> described e.g. in Iedema et al. (1994, 164-165). Media discussion consists of four stages: the statement of issue, arguments for, arguments against, and optional recommendation. Mapping this structure onto the orbital structure of hard news, the statement of the issue may be seen as

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<sup>53</sup> It is not entirely clear whether White (1998, 352) considers media discussion and issues report different kinds of “arguing texts” or whether he considers them generically related. Although there might be some common points, the generic structures as well as the functions of the two texts seem to be sufficiently different to justify their distinction: media discussion is characterised by stages with a specific function and its purpose is to argue for and against a point, whereas the rhetorical functionality of an issues report is based on the lack of staging (except the basic stages of the nucleus and body) and is purported to report. Admittedly, however, concrete textual instantiations of genre types may take variable forms and it seems reasonable to ask how much reported language and/or (Counter-)Justification may move issues reports away from hard news closer to other (non-reporting) genres.

corresponding to the nucleus, arguments for the issue correspond to Justification and counter-arguments correspond to Counter-Justification.

However, as pointed by White (1998, 352), when considering genre, one needs to take into account the communicative objective of the text as a whole. Thus a question needs to be asked whether the purpose of the text is to argue for a point or report a prior event of argumentation. As also briefly mentioned in the discussion of Consequence above, in the process of recontextualization and incorporation of the voices of others into the hard news text and accommodation to its rhetorical objective, the (possible argumentative) structure of the original verbal event may be decomposed, (re)constructed and mapped onto the orbital structure of hard news, varying in the extent of how much of the original argumentation has been retained or created. Consequently, the argumentation in the issues report may not reflect the original text in terms of its rhetorical objectives (argue versus document), but also the issues selected as primary or subsidiary points of contention, which is in hard news signalled by the location either in the nucleus or satellite(s) (White 1998, 364-365, 374). Thus, recontextualization goes hand in hand with “genre-structure determinism” (White 1998, 375). Although perhaps not always in direct/combined form of presentation, extra-vocalisation plays a vital role in the understanding of Justification and Counter-Justification. The arguments put forward are not authorial and the primary and explicit objective of the author is not to persuade by advancing his point but purportedly report or document what some external source has said (White 1998, 78, 351, 356-357, 364).

Considering the very low frequency of Justification and Counter-Justification, it must be emphasised that explicit argumentation is rare in hard news and other rhetorical strategies are preferred, especially repetition of the contentious issue by means of Elaboration. In addition, as shown in the sections dealing with Consequence and Contextualization, although their argumentative potential is much lower, they may be interpreted as supporting or refuting the opinion or angle in the nucleus. Less explicit argumentation may be also signalled by concessive/concurring sequences.

## **6.9 Cause and Effect: Concession**

Another satellite expressing a Cause-Effect relation to the nucleus is Concession. Concession presents material which frustrates or is contrary to the expectations or conclusions raised in the nucleus (White 1998, 340) and belongs to one of the least frequent satellites (17). A possible explanation may lie in that the content that is the main source of counter-

expectation (or concession) is normally foregrounded in the nucleus (White 1998, 302). Out of the total, 10 satellites (58.8%) do not contain any direct/combined forms of presentation, in 6 (35.3%) satellites direct or combined forms appear in the presence of non-direct forms (and narration) and only in 1 (5.9%) satellite direct forms appear in the absence of non-direct forms. As in the case of Counter-Justification and Justification, the two groups will be conflated in one table; the numbers preceding the slash represent the occurrences of direct forms in the absence of non-direct forms, the numbers following the slash represent the occurrences of direct forms in the presence of non-direct forms.

Cause and effect: Concession: direct forms only (+N)/direct forms in combination with non-direct								
Satellites /1/6	FDD	DD	FID-q	ID-q	NRDAp-q	N-q	A	Total
Speech	0	1/3	0	1/4	0			9
Writing	0	0	0	0	0			0
Thought	0	0	0	0	0			0
Narration						0		0
Ambiguity							0	0
Total	0	4	0	5	0	0	0	9
Total %	0	44.4	0	55.6	0	0	0	100

Table 30: Concession – direct forms of presentation with and without non-direct forms

As shown in Table 30, in the 7 satellites only 9 forms were detected: 4 instances of direct speech and 5 instances of indirect speech combined with a partial quote.

In example 56, the nucleus raises the issue of cheap, low quality unapproved gel used for silicone breast implants. The Headline quotes the head of the company in the form of FDS and embedded indirect thought (e1IT), exposing fully his perspective and admission of his awareness of the situation. The Lead (IS-q) draws attention to the motive for such behaviour, namely *economic objectives*, underlined by the partial quote. It is not only the low quality of the product but also the knowledge of the person in charge and the fact that financial gain was placed above safety and health that constitute the breach of moral norms.

Example 56

**Headline**

<FDS><e1NRT>*I knew* <e1IT>*our silicone was inferior* (sic), <NRS>admits breast implant chief

**Lead**

<NRS>The head of the breast implant manufacturer at the centre of a health scare affecting hundreds of thousands of women worldwide has admitted <IS-q>he used <eINRWAp-h>a *cheaper unapproved product* because of “**economic objectives**”.

#### #S4/Cause and effect: Concession A1

<N>However, <NRS>Mr Mas still insists <IS>that despite their lower quality, the implants were safe. <DS>“<eINRT>*PIP knew*<eIIT-i> *it wasn’t in compliance, but it wasn’t a toxic product,*” <NRS>the lawyer said. <DS>“**The fact that it’s an irritant (when ruptured) is the same for all silicone gels,**” <NRS>he told AFP. (App. 2C, I34)

Contrary to Counter-Justification Concession does not deny the elements in the nucleus, in this case the product being cheap, unapproved and of low quality. These attributes may, however, evoke the expectation or lead to the conclusion (not expressly mentioned in the nucleus) that the product is also dangerous to health. The Concession satellite challenges this impression and brings in the voice of Mr Mas, the person responsible for the problem. In the IS the concessive meaning is signalled by the adverb *however* and the preposition *despite*, which directly expresses the relation of counter-expectation regarding the low quality of the product. The dialogic tension is underscored by the adverb *still* and the speech act verb *insist*, which indicates persistence on the part of the reported speaker stemming from assumed resistance or disagreement on the part of the recipient (Wierzbicka 1987, 339-340).

Contrary to initially selecting the point of disruption for the nucleus which is based on inter-textual dialogue, i.e. dialogue taking place with external texts or voices (Bakhtin 1981, 281), the refutation of the expectation in the Concession satellite is based on “intra-textuality”, i.e. an internal dialogue or negotiation operating not between a given text and other implied texts in the background but between individual utterances within the confines of one text (White 1998, 138). The intra-textual dialogue may run as follows: a low quality product is also likely to be dangerous, which is, however, not true in this case (...*despite their lower quality, the implants were safe.*). The dialogue simultaneously acts to exclude or reject alternative positions (e.g. that the product was dangerous), a dialogic interaction referred to as an act of “disclaiming” (Martin and White 2005, 117-118). The proposition that the product was of lower quality is “countered” (Martin and White 2005, 120-121) by the proposition that it was safe, supplanting the expected invoked proposition of the product being dangerous. The whole interaction seems a combination of inter- and intra- textual dialogue.

A similar dialogic tension can be observed in the subsequent instance of direct speech; the fact that the product was not officially approved and thus was not in compliance with the

regulations might suggest it was not safe, a conclusion that is contradicted by rejecting the product's toxicity. The countering is signalled by the conjunction *but* (...*it wasn't in compliance, but...*) and accompanied by another source of dialogic disclaiming, the so-called "denial" (Martin and White 2005, 118-119), expressed by the negative form of the verb (... *it wasn't a toxic product*). The negative is dialogic in that prior to responding to and rejecting its positive counterpart (*it was a toxic product*), it is necessary to evoke or acknowledge its existence. It thus seems that intra-textuality ultimately depends on inter-textuality since opinions and value judgements reverberating inter-textually may motivate actual wording in a text and hence intra-textuality. Intra-textuality could be thus understood as a concrete manifestation or instantiation of inter-textuality.

Apart from dialogic disclaiming, there is another instance of dialogic interaction which results in reducing the space for alternative positions, so-called "proclaiming" (Martin and White 2005, 121). The noun *fact* lays emphasis on one point of view (*it's an irritant*) and thus excludes the others (e.g. it is possibly not an irritant). The proclaimed alternative, namely that *the product was an irritant* is, however, placed in thematic position and thus does not constitute the core of the message. The core of the message is that the proclaimed statement of irritancy is valid for all silicone gels and thus in line with the counter-expectational discourse of the Concession satellite.

As shown above, Concessive relation is based on challenging (unstated) expectations and conclusions rather than concrete pronounced propositions and thus makes an indirect reference to some system of values, principles and beliefs. In other words, Concession relies heavily on the text leading a dialogue with the reader and/or vice versa. The role of reported language in Concession satellites is twofold. It is the source of dialogue between the point of view of (the part of) the society that represents the accepted (and challenged) values, and the point of view of the reported speaker, who represents the (challenging) values which are not allied with. By being explicitly grounded in the subjectivity of some external voice attribution is an obvious and easily accessible means of inter-textuality. Equally importantly, attributed external voice remains confined to one individual and creates space for solidarity with other positions, in the case of Concession most likely with the opinions the reported speaker polemises with, i.e. the general public and the expectations raised in the nucleus.

## 6.10 Balance

Balance is not discussed in White (1997, 1998, 2000) and despite its rare occurrence it is believed to have its due place in the discussion of the generic structure of hard news. It reflects the aim of objective and balanced reporting in which more sides (or voices) of the argument are presented. If this goal cannot be achieved, the journalist can state directly that an effort has been made but without success and indicate that he is aware of the failure. Balance is very scarce and, moreover, its occurrence is confined only to *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. In these there were 6 unambiguous Balance satellites, 4 (66.7%) of which did not contain any direct form of presentation. In the 2 (33.3%) remaining satellites there were 3 instances of pure direct discourse (1FDS, 2DS) occurring in the presence of non-direct forms. There were no satellites based solely on pure direct/combined forms of presentation. Sometimes mention of the failure to provide information appears appended to other satellites but as these are ancillary to the function of the latter, their occurrence was not reflected in the statistical data.

In example 57 the nucleus refers to the possibility of defection of the head of the Chinese newspaper, Xinhua. The uncertainty of the situation is reflected in the reporting signal – the nouns *rumour* (NRS<sub>Ap</sub>) in the Headline and *speculation* (IS) in the Lead. According to Wierzbicka (1987, 264-265), speculation involves lack of knowledge, little evidence, inconclusiveness and is concerned with “what could be true rather than with what is true”. Similar epistemic meaning is also present in the Balance satellite.

### Example 57

#### Headline

<NRS<sub>Ap</sub>>Defection rumour <N>as Chinese news chief disappears on trip to Britain

#### Lead

<N>THE HEAD of China’s domestic news service has disappeared during a trip to Britain amid<NRS> speculation <IS>that he has defected.

#### #S6/Balance A1

<NRS>A spokesman for Xinhua refused<IS><e1NRS> to confirm or <e1NRS>deny <e1IS-h>whether Mr Wan had defected. <DS> “<e1NI-i>We do not know the situation clearly,” <NRS> he said. <FDS> “You should keep an eye on the news.”

(App. 2A, DT23)

The Elaboration satellites in the body of the text give further detail on Mr Wan's disappearance, bringing in different voices, ranging from speculations on the internet to the sources close to the situation, all of which support the idea of defection. The Balance satellite confronts these with the point of view of the Xinhua newspaper, which refuses to either confirm or deny this version of events. The refusal to provide any specific comments finds reflection in the form of reported language: the act of confirming or denying has not materialized and thus remains hypothetical, embedded (eIIS-h) in the indirect speech reporting the refusal (IS).

The direct speech explains the reason for the refusal, referring to the lack of information. The refusal to confirm or deny the suggestion can be understood as an instance of "opting out" of the expected cooperation in order to comply with the maxim of quality (Thomas, 1995, 74-76; Grice 1975). Refusing to give information is a face threatening act, which is mitigated by the explanation of why the threat has been made and possibly by an indirect promise to supply the information (*You should keep an eye on the news*) (Brown and Levinson 1987). Even though Balance relies mainly on non-direct forms, mostly employing phrases such as *decline/refuse/not be available (for) to comment*, when direct forms do occur they enable the journalist to re-enact, rather than describe, an act of communication in which the reported speaker opted out or was otherwise being uncooperative. As pointed by Clayman (1990, 93-97), these "non-answers" may place the reported speaker in a negative light and make readers search for a reason for non-answering or a possible "true" answer.

Although the frequency of Balance is very low, it seems in line with the rhetorical aim of hard news since the attempt (even a failed one) to provide diverse or alternative opinions at least approximates to the idea of balanced and fair reporting. Balance has an apologetic tone directed at the reader, explaining why the expectations of unbiased reporting have not been met, or why 'the maxim of balance' has not been complied with. The responsibility is thus again shifted from the journalist to the reported speaker and his unwillingness to express his opinion, or to some other unfavourable circumstances.



## 7. Case study

So far attention has been paid chiefly to the role of direct and combined forms of presentation in isolated parts of the generic structure. This chapter aims at a more comprehensive analysis showing how reported language contributes to the meaning potential generated by the orbital generic structure in an actual specimen of a complete hard news report. The hard news under discussion has been chosen because both the nucleus and satellites are based on reported language. As an issues report, it is pregnant with dialogic tension and interaction between different voices which contribute to its argumentative flavour. Although the report will be divided into parts and discussed step by step, its ultimate length and form will be retained. The text can be found in Appendix 2C, I25.

The nucleus refers to the issue of badger culling, approved of by the Environment secretary but opposed by animal welfare campaigners. It is thus constituted as dialogic, acknowledging adversarial confrontation.

### Headline

<NI-i>Anger <N>as <NRSAp>badger culling given go-ahead for next year

### Lead

<NRS>Animal welfare campaigners say<IS><eINRSAp-h/N> *they will challenge badger culling in England* <N>after <NRSAp>trials were given the go-ahead by the Environment Secretary, Caroline Spelman.

The official approval of badger culling is reported in the form of narrator's representation of speech act with topic (*badger culling/trials were given go-ahead*, NRSAp) in both the Headline and Lead. The animal welfare campaigners' reaction and disagreement are reported in the form internal narration (*anger*, NI-i) in the Headline and indirect speech (*campaigners say they will ....*, IS) in the Lead. The IS is a warning of future action undertaken in order to preclude culling, expressed via an embedded hypothetical narrator's representation of speech act with topic (*they will challenge badger culling...*) ambiguous with narration. The ambiguity was postulated since it is not clear whether the action will be of verbal or non-verbal nature, or both. Its hypothetical status lies in it being placed in the future. Both the Headline and Lead directly acknowledge the existence of alternative voices and demonstrate solidarity with both opposing sides. Not untypically, the relation between the approval and the subsequent negative action is portrayed as temporal (*as*, *after*) rather than causal.

The idea of badger culling and the two alternative points of view are specified by satellites 1-5 in the body of the text. Notice that from the very beginning the news report develops as a concessive-concurring sequence. Agreement is marked by a series of three tildes and disagreement is marked by a series of three crosses.

### # ##CONCESSIVE-CONCURRING SEQUENCE (S1-5)

#### S1/Elaboration A1 + Appraisal A1

<N>The six-week trials will take place in two areas next year and could lead to a wider cull across the country as part of efforts to tackle TB in cattle. <NRSAp>Farmers and veterinary leaders welcomed the move, <NRS>saying <IS-q>it was an “**undisputed science**” that killing badgers was effective, although controlled shooting had yet to be tested.

#       **xxx**

Satellite 1 is a compound satellite of Elaboration A1 and Appraisal A1. Elaboration A1 is based solely on narration, repeats and gives more detail on the planned trials of badger culling. Appraisal A1 introduces a new voice, namely the voice of farmers and veterinary leaders, not represented in the nucleus. Appraisal A1 evaluates positively the approval of badger culling, an inanimate entity, and is an instance of appreciation (White 1998, Martin and White 2005). First the stance is summarized in narrator’s representation of speech act with topic (*welcomed the move*, NRSAp); since the decision to support badger culling was already dealt with in the nucleus and Elaboration A1, it can now be referred to by the anaphoric noun *move*. The NRSAp is then expounded in greater detail by the IS-q. The move is described as *effective* and its effectiveness is equalled with “*undisputed science*”. The directly quoted phrase highlights the scientific aspect of the process, accentuates the meanings of reliability and evidentiality and thus justifies the process of culling as a legitimate solution (Bednarek 2006, 42). Although it is mitigated by acknowledging that *controlled shooting had yet to be tested*, the reference to testing maintains the scientific point of view.

#### S2/Elaboration B1

<N>But<NV//N>several animal welfare groups reacted <NI-i>angrily<NRSA> to yesterday’s announcement, <N>with<NRTAp-i> one considering legal action. <NRS>The Humane Society International (HSI) said<IS><e1NRWA-h> *it would submit a formal complaint to the 1979 Bern Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and*

*Natural Habitats*. <NRS>It said <IS-q>the cull lacked “**legitimate purpose**” and posed a significant threat to badger populations, and that ministers had failed to examine alternatives.

#      **XXX**

Satellite 2, Elaboration B1, specifies another element of the nucleus, the negative stance of the animal welfare groups, which are gradually specified as HSI in Elaboration B1, RSPC in B2 and The Badger Trust in B3. The feeling of anger, reported in the Headline as internal narration (NI-i), reappears in Elaboration B1 together with a minimal form of speech representation (NV), ambiguous with narration (N). The ambiguity was postulated due to possible double interpretation of the reaction as either a verbal or material event. In contrast to Appraisal A1, where the approval of culling is referred to as *move*, in Elaboration B1 it is construed as a summarizing verbal event, narrator’s representation of speech act (NRSA, *announcement*). The act of challenge raised in the Lead re-appears in Elaboration B1 as thought – narrator’s representation of thought act with topic (*considering legal action...*, NRTAp-i) and a hypothetical form of writing act (*submit a formal complaint ...*, e1NRWA-h) embedded in the host indirect speech (IS). The indirect speech with a partial quote (IS-q) is a negative appreciation of the cull (*lacking “legitimate purpose”, posing a significant threat*) and also passes negative judgement on the ministers behind the decision (*failed to examine alternatives*).

The negative appreciation of the cull in Elaboration B1 is thus a counter-part to its positive appreciation in Appraisal A1. The words highlighted in the IS-q in Appraisal A1 (*undisputed science*) contrast with the words highlighted in the IS-q in Elaboration B1 (*legitimate purpose*): the effectiveness alleged to be scientifically indisputable in the former is contradicted and undermined in the latter by the refusal of its legitimacy and justification. The two satellites present two adversarial points of view and create the first pair of opposing satellites in the concessive-concurring sequence. Satellite 3, Consequence A1, returns back to the view favourable to culling and thus continues the concessive pattern established by the first two satellites.

### **S3/Cause and effect: Consequence A1**

<NRS>Mrs Spelman told the Commons <IS>a vaccine for the disease would take too long to develop and it was difficult to administer to wild badgers. <FIS>Culling could reduce the incidence of bovine TB by 10 per cent, <NRS>she suggested.

#      ~ ~ ~

Consequence A1 reports in indirect speech (IS) a statement by Mrs Spelman, the author of the decision, and thus returns to the pro-culling point of view. The satellite specifies the reasons why culling is, in contrast to vaccination, a suitable alternative and engages in dialogue with the negative judgement in Elaboration B1, accusing the authorities of failing to examine other possibilities. By measuring the success of culling in percentage terms and by arguing against vaccinating badgers on procedural and technical grounds, Consequence A1 maintains the scientific point of view established already in satellite 1. The first part of the compound satellite 4, the second member of the Appraisal string, Appraisal 2, develops the pro-culling angle and thus adds a concurring element to the sequence.

#### S4/ Appraisal A2 + Elaboration B2

<NRSAp-q>Carl Padgett, president of the British Veterinary Association, hailed the trial as “**a major step on the long road to tackling this devastating disease**”. **xxx** <N>But <NRSAp-q>the RSPCA accused the Government of being “**more interested in killing badgers than vaccinating them**”.

# ~ ~ ~

Appraisal A1 reveals the voice of *farmers and veterinary leaders* and Appraisal A2 specifies it as the voice of *Carl Padgett, president of the British Veterinary Association*, and although Appraisal A2 is the second member of the Appraisal A string and is found in a concurring sequence with Consequence A1, there is a change in the way culling is looked at. As has been already mentioned, the argumentation in Appraisal A1 and Consequence A1 is built around the scientific aspects of the process of culling whereas in Appraisal A2 the point of view becomes more subjective. The combined narrator’s representation of speech act with topic (NRSAp-q) evaluates the trial positively and the words selected for the partial direct quote are the main source of evaluation. The adjective (*major*) appreciates it in terms of its importance in comparison to the negative appreciation of the disease (*devastating*) (Bednarek 2006, 42); also, the positive evaluation is provoked by the expression being metaphorical (Martin and White 2005, 65).

The positive evaluation in Appraisal A2 is juxtaposed to a satellite in the concessive sequence signalled formally by the adversative conjunct *but*. Elaboration B2, also in the form of NRSAp-q, continues the cycle commenced by Elaboration B1. It particularizes another group of opposing welfare campaigners (*RSPCA, The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals*), who express their disagreement not in affective terms (as e.g. in

Elaboration B1 and the nucleus) but return attention to the government, evaluate it in moral terms (social sanction), passing the second instance of judgement (*more interested in killing ...*). As in Appraisal A2, the words with the evaluative load are quoted directly. Satellite 5 is another instance of compound satellite, combining Elaboration B3 and Consequence B1, ambiguous with Appraisal.

#### **S5/Elaboration B3 + Cause and effect: Consequence B1 (Appraisal)**

<NRS>The Badger Trust said<IS-q><e1NI> it was “*clearly very disappointed*” and <e1NRSA-h>would consult lawyers<e1NRT>to decide <e1IT-h>what action could be taken. ~ ~ ~ <NRS>The Shadow Environment Secretary, Mary Creagh, said: <DS>“**The cull will cost farmers more than it saves them and will spread bovine TB in the short term as badgers move out of cull areas.**” (App. 2C, I25)

Since Elaboration B2 and B3 promote identical point of view, they form a concurring sequence. Elaboration B3 brings to the scene another group of campaigners, The Badger Trust. It contributes to the evaluation and returns to the affective type of appraisal, internal narration embedded in the IS-q (*clearly very disappointed*, e1NI). The NI coheres with the internal narration in Elaboration B1 (*angrily*) and the Headline (*anger*). In addition, Elaboration B3 resumes reference to the embedded hypothetical forms of speech and thought presentation, namely narrator’s representation of speech act (*would consult lawyers*) and indirect thought (*to decide what action....*) present e.g. in Elaboration B1 as NRTAp-i (*considering legal action*) and possibly the ambiguous form in the Lead (*challenge badger culling*).

The second part of the compound satellite accords with Elaboration B3 and is the last (concurring) member of the concessive-concurring sequence. It brings to the scene a new voice (*the Shadow Environment Secretary, Mary Creagh*), who creates a counterbalance to the approving political voice in the nucleus, and presents in the form of direct speech (DS) negative consequences (*high cost, spread of TB*) of the trials and was classed accordingly as Consequence B1. Although there are no elements of inscribed evaluation inherent to the expressions, the reference to the unfavourable impact of the trials seems to have the potential to trigger or “evoke” appraisal, based on the experiential meaning measured against aspects of extra-linguistic reality (White 1998, 151). The negative consequences may metonymically evaluate negatively the source or the cause, i.e. the trials and their approval (Bednarek 2009,

117-118). The juxtaposition to Elaboration B3, which is a source of inscribed appraisal, and concurrence in point of view also invite the Consequence-Appraisal interpretation.

The issues report described above evinces a typical orbital structure based on the nucleus-satellite relation. The nucleus presents two elements on which the subsequent dialogue is based – the move of approval by the authority figure and the disapproving stance of animal welfare campaigners. The satellites which return to the nucleus in a wave-like periodic pattern keep the contentious points in the foreground. The reference to badger culling appears in Elaboration A1 and its benefits are explained in Consequence A1. In between these satellites there is Elaboration B1, which commences the Elaboration B string containing two other members, B2 and B3, specifying the opposing view of the campaigners. Additionally, the body of the text relies on two other voices not represented in the nucleus. First, the anti-culling stance is supported by the voice of a politician placed in a concurring sequence alongside Elaboration B3 as Consequence B1 ambiguous with Appraisal. Second, the commendatory voice of the farmers and veterinary leaders appears in Appraisal A1 and A2 and creates a counter-balance to Elaboration B satellites.

However, alongside the orbital structure there is a clear pattern based on an alternation of positive and negative stance towards the main theme, creating concessive-concurring sequence of single or compound satellites. The presence of different voices in the concessive-concurring sequence has important implications for heteroglossia and solidarity, especially with regard to the rhetorical functionality of hard news and its relation to other media genres. The presence of different voices in the text creates a dialogic environment in which different opinions interact and the text as a whole acknowledges alternative positions and shows openness to negotiation and empathy with these alternatives (White 1998, 376-413; Martin and White 2005, 92-160). Heteroglossic backdrop is important for hard news since it can be, among others, a vehicle of balanced and unbiased reporting. Reported language is not only the device with dialogue and solidarity creating potential but it simultaneously enables to comply with the requirement of the absence of authorial evaluation since any proposition or proposal that is reported is presented from the perspective of the reported speaker and thus valid within the confines of his subjective world (Sanders and Redeker 1993, 69). Naturally, different forms of presentation on the scale from maximum degree of directness (FDD, DD) to a total absence of voice of others (narration) show different degrees of reported and reporting speaker's subjectivity.

A cursory glance at the report shows that despite the presence of alternative voices not all of them are represented equally and in the same vein. The voice of the authority behind the

move appears in a non-direct form in the Headline and Lead; it is given further space in a single Consequence A1, again in non-direct forms of presentation. The satellite sets a pseudo-scientific angle on the issue. Elaboration A1 in the first compound satellite gives details about the culling trials in the form of narration and projectionwise is thus presented as monoglossic and excluding the voice from the nucleus. The voice of farmers and veterinary surgeons in favour of the culling has not been selected for the nucleus and in comparison to the voice of the politician and animal welfare campaigners is not kept in the textual, ideational and interpersonal focus. Neither is it allocated a separate single satellite but always appears juxtaposed in a compound satellite. On the other hand it creates a two-member Appraisal A string and thus occurs twice in the body of the text. Appraisal A1 is in accordance with the argumentative angle in Consequence A1, whereas Appraisal A2 is more evaluative and thus more in line with the evaluation in Elaboration B2, with which it forms a concessive sequence within a compound satellite. In both Appraisal A1 and A2 the key words underlining the attitude are reported in a partial direct quote, dialogically reinforcing the stance in Consequence A1 as well as leading a polemic with Elaboration B2.

The stance of the opponents of culling, animal welfare campaigners, is the most consistently represented voice throughout the whole text. It creates a strong thread starting in the nucleus and finishing in the final satellite. The appearance in the Headline and Lead makes it ideationally, textually and interpersonally prominent: the Headline highlights the affective reaction and the Lead refers to the future efforts to fight against the decision. Both aspects recur together in Elaboration B1 and B3; the reference to affective evaluation in B3 is in the form of a partial quote. Another building block of the opposing stance is the negative evaluation of the process of culling as well as the government itself. It significantly contributes to the concessive-concurring sequence: it appears in Elaboration B1, B2 and ambiguous Consequence B1. Due to adjacency and overlap in point of view (effectiveness of the culling and its justification against other alternative procedures) it leads an implicit dialogue with the opposing side: Elaboration B1 negatively evaluates both the culling and the persons responsible for the move and thus interacts with the preceding positive Appraisal A1 and subsequent Consequence A1. Although Elaboration B2 passes judgment and Appraisal A2 expresses appreciation, the two are in stark contrast as both approach the issue in evaluative terms. The ambiguous Consequence B1 by means of the negative consequences works to support the stance in Elaboration B3. All satellites promoting the anti-culling opinion rely on combined forms of presentation highlighting the key evaluative words or pure direct forms unfolding the reported speaker's perspective in its entirety.

The pro-culling stance relies on subjective appreciation (*major step...*) as well as more objective and reason-based argumentation by reference to the reliability of scientific evidence (*undisputed science, tests, development and administration of the vaccine, statistical effectiveness*). The stance against the culling seems directed more towards affect, appreciation and judgement (*anger, disappointment, threat, failure to examine, interest in killing badgers*); only Consequence B1 seems to shift towards more objective reasons, such as unnecessary cost to farmers and spread of the disease. On the whole the text, and issues reports in general, is highly charged heteroglossically and greatly oriented towards attitudinal values (affect, judgement, appreciation) smeared across the body of the text in extra-vocalised interpersonal peaks, each voice being associated with a different point of view, and promoting and naturalizing different reading positions (White 1998, 327-331, 347-352). Although on the whole the report has a substantial heteroglossic basis, the voices are not treated identically in terms of the selection for prominence, allocation of satellites and recurrence in strings, the choice of reported language as well as the kind of argumentation or promoted point of view. This may find reflection in the way the audience with different reading positions are inclined to accept or refuse the dialogic alternatives introduced in text. Finally, a few words will be said on the topic of the presence of voices and the functionality of the orbital structure.

As mentioned, one of the defining features of the orbital structure is the so-called radical editability, characterised by the possibility to remove or re-order satellites without affecting the textuality of the report, by the lack of iconicity of the text time to field time and a frequent lack of closure (Martin 1992, 516-523; Iedema et al. 1994, 109-137; White 1998, 252-263). Although the report under discussion is analysable using nucleus-satellite relations with few formal links between the satellites, a more linear view of the text organization offers itself. The ordering of satellites in the concessive-concurring sequence shows a relatively regular pattern of contrast between satellites 1 and 2, satellites 2 and 3, and within the compound satellite 4, interspersed with concurring sections between satellites 3 and 4, satellites 4 and 5 and within the satellite 5. As already noted, the sequence relies on inter- as well as intra-satellite adjacency, which has the potential to underline the contrast or similarity between the stance expressed by different voices, especially in compound satellites. In two cases the contrast is indicated by a conjunct (*but* between satellites 1 and 2, and in satellite 4).

The parallel complementary linear interpretation may not be accidental and is not inconsequential. The switches in point of view highlight the presence of different voices, the dialogic interaction, tension or agreement between them. The structure may work in accordance with the rhetorical goal of hard news and benefit from the orbital and periodic



patterning combined with non-orbital, linear features. Since the orbital structure is still prominent and the arguments and all evaluation are extra-vocalised in this respect the report is undoubtedly an instance of hard news. The points of disruption and the opposing tension between the voices presented in the nucleus are kept in the foreground by repetition and elaboration, evaluation or argumentation, so the prevailing rhetorical and persuasive potential lies in the rehearsal of the main points rather than a fully developed argumentative structure in the body of satellites.<sup>54</sup>

Still, there arises the question of whether the traces of linearity (compound satellites, concessive-concurring sequences) and the presence of different voices may shift to an extent the communicative purpose of chronicling to arguing. Indeed, the above examined report reminds of Iedema et al.'s (1994, 78, 164-165) media discussion, which is agnate to factual genres and which in clearly identifiable stages aims to discuss different viewpoints in an objective and factual manner without necessarily coming to an explicit conclusion, and which is comparable to White's issues report. Looking at the examined report topologically, i.e. in terms of "graded, fuzzily bounded rather than absolute categories" and "degrees of membership in a classification" aiming mainly at articulating degrees of similarity (White 1998, 33; Martin and Rose 2008, 130-139), despite obvious differences in the rhetorical structure and rhetorical goal, this type (or instantiation) of issues report may be closer to argumentative genres than less argumentative issues reports or event stories.

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<sup>54</sup> White (1998, 353-356) performs a multiple analysis of an issues report, applying the orbital nucleus-satellite model and the thesis-argument model, showing that even though both are possible, the argumentative structure is not so fully developed and the persuasive potential manifests itself mainly in the repetition of the primary thesis and arguments from the nucleus.

## 8. Conclusion

The aim of the paper was to map the distribution and function of direct forms of presentation in the generic structure of the hard news report. The crucial aspects were the deictic and grammatical properties of direct forms and their potential to evoke the perspective of the reported or reporting speaker, interpreted vis-à-vis the social function of hard news, the role of the nucleus and the peculiarities of the individual satellite types. The function of direct forms was assessed in connection with the aim of hard news to identify the point of social significance and mediate it in a manner which effaces the reporter and acknowledges alternative points of view among the audience.

The nuclearity of the Headline and Lead, characterized by the low occurrence of direct forms of presentation, lies in the identification of the point of social significance, reflection and reinforcement of social and moral values. Narration does not bring in any other voice via the system of attribution and in this respect is monoglossic and reflects only the perspective of the narrator; non-direct forms reflect to different degrees the perspective of the reported or reporting speaker, but never the reported speaker only. Consequently, narration and non-direct forms allow summarization and interpretation, offer the reporter room for manoeuvre and enable him to portray the source of disruption from a particular point of view, which may prove convenient in the effort to establish unifying common ground from which the story unfolds.

This also tallies with the fact that if direct forms appear in the nucleus, preference is given to combined forms rather than pure direct forms. Combined forms offer a fusion of two functions: they bring the voice of others to accommodate different reading positions and partially absolve the journalist from responsibility, and simultaneously they interpret the event in the extra-linguistic reality in such a way as to imbue it with a common social significance. By providing the angle on the story, combined forms (and their non-direct analogues) assess in advance the relative importance of the event, reduce possible differences in readers' interpretation and justify in their eyes the social significance ascribed to it, making it worth reporting or tellable. At the same time, however, they bring the voice of the reported speaker and respond to the need for solidarity with different points of view. The partial quote offers solely the perspective of the reported speaker but grammatically, semantically and pragmatically embedded in the interpretation of the journalist, especially in the case of partially quoted narration.

Purely direct and free direct forms, on the other hand, offer the perspective of the reported speaker only, and may be too individualized and specific to serve the purpose of

unification. This also explains their low occurrence in the Headline and, with one exception, their absence in the Lead. The free direct forms in the Headline also reflect the attention-seeking function that is not performed by the Lead.

In line with reporter voice, Appraisal is a satellite the occurrence of which is inextricably bound to direct forms of presentation. In comparison to the nucleus and other satellites, Appraisal is notable for the high proportion of direct forms in general, for the high proportion of direct forms occurring without non-direct forms (and narration) and finally for the high proportion of pure (free) direct forms in contrast to combined forms. Although Appraisal is like nucleus a locus of heavy concentration of interpersonal meaning, there is a marked difference between the interpersonality of the nucleus and the interpersonality of Appraisal. Whereas the nucleus serves to establish the common ground and angle from which the point of disruption is looked at, Appraisal responds to the heterogeneity of the audience in a completely different manner. It accepts possible diversity in point of view and creates space for the existence of alternatives by particularizing and accentuating the subjectivity of the individual and by making given interpretation and understanding one of many. Appraisal serves to individualise and subjectify, which reflects in the high incidence of (F)DD.

(F)DD shows a maximum degree of directness and lays bare the perspective of the reported speaker to the maximum possible extent while backgrounding the reporting speaker, allowing for minimal degree of intervention and hence minimal responsibility. In combined forms, on the other hand, the reporting speaker is present in the interpretation or summary of the reported content, the selection of words for the partial quote and often also the reporting signal. Consequently, the combination of the nucleus and Appraisal offers the reinforcement of what is already accepted inter-subjectively as a breach of social norms i.e. something conventional, taken for granted and hence not questioned, as well as its intra-subjective and individualized evaluation.

Following Elaboration, Background belongs to the second most frequent satellite. This, however, does not apply to the occurrence of direct forms of presentation. Even though the frequency of (F)DD is still higher than the frequency of combined forms, in comparison to Appraisal the occurrence of the latter forms has increased at the expense of the former. This may be explained by the function of the Contextualization satellite since the meanings or rhetorical strategies which could be considered risky to the impersonal key of reporter voice (e.g. evaluation, explanation or argumentation) are not of primary concern to Contextualization and thus possible intervention of the reporting speaker may not have serious consequences. Direct forms of presentation occur in Contextualizing verbal events

mainly in issues reports, especially if they contain evaluative lexical items. Or, they may work as subtle and implicit argument or cue for interpretation, constructed or supplied by the reader rather than explicitly stated in the text.

The most frequently occurring satellite is Elaboration. In terms of the number of satellites with direct forms Elaboration is found between Contextualization and Appraisal, although it is closer to the former in terms of the proportion between (F)DD and combined forms. Since Elaboration, and hence a substantial part of the hard news structure, repeats and specifies the elements in the nucleus, there may be an overlap between the forms of presentation in terms of the reported content, speech act value, key phrases and also embedding. On the other hand, there may be differences regarding the degree of directness, perspective and the potential to summarize: forms of presentation employed in the nucleus tend to be less direct and more summative, reflecting the reporting speaker's perspective, whereas forms employed in Elaboration tend to be more direct, less interpretative and reflecting the reported speaker's perspective. The unifying angle in the nucleus is reiterated in Elaboration but already in the more subjective perspective of a concrete individual.

In general, the frequency of Cause-Effect satellites is lower than the frequency of other satellites. A possible explanation lies in their rhetorical purpose: Consequence provides causes, reasons and consequences and is thus more explanatory, analytical and interpretative; Concession is a source of counter-expectation, a function that is normally reserved for the nucleus; Justification advances arguments for the ideas in the nucleus whereas Counter-Justification undermines them. The nucleus-Justification arrangement is reminiscent of the thesis-argument structure, which has been either transferred (re-created) from the original context or newly created after recontextualization. Moreover, the presence of Counter-Justification may indicate the presence of an opposing point of view than the one selected as the point of disruption for the nucleus, and thus may challenge the report's objectivity and impartiality since it may show that the event is presented from only one angle to the exclusion of others. Counter-Justification may expose bias and preferred worldview, further perpetuated by the incessant creation and re-creation of the nucleus-satellite relation. Even though the opposing point of view is given space in the body of the text and thus responds to the need for dialogue and solidarity with alternative opinions, only the angle presented in the nucleus establishes also the primary view of the event and has a more privileged status in the generic structure.

The presence of Cause-Effect satellites, especially Justification and Counter-Justification, gives hard news a flavour of debate-like style. But argumentative strategies may

not be fully compatible with the ultimate goal of hard news, which may explain the low frequency of Cause-Effect satellites and the fact that with the exception of Concession approximately half of each Cause-Effect satellite type relies on direct forms of presentation. Moreover, the satellites except Concession are marked for the preponderance of free direct and direct forms of presentation over the occurrence of combined forms. Pure direct forms ensure the reporting speaker maximum distance from the rhetorical strategy. In addition, the mere employment of reported language makes the argumentative and explanatory sections covert, or hidden behind the overt purpose of reporting, creating a kind of double purpose structure enabling the reporting speaker to avail himself of the rhetorical potential of Cause-Effect relations while preserving the impersonal style of reporter voice (van Leeuwen 1987).

Still, however, the frequency of Consequence is higher than that of Concession, Justification and Counter-Justification. Their absence may be explained by possible exclusion from the rhetorical repertoire of the hard news genre (Gruber and Muntigl 2005, Mann and Thompson 1988) and despite the fact that the reporting speaker is absolved from responsibility, the mere presence of other voices which argue for or against a point, explain and provide reasons can still imbue a text with rhetorical meanings which may move it away from the prototype of hard news.

Even though non-direct and narrative forms were not studied in detail, there seems to be a tendency for Elaboration satellites forming strings to produce patterns in dependence on whether they contain stretches of narrative discourse, non-direct, combined and pure direct forms of presentation. In general, non-direct forms and/or narration are preferred in the initial satellites of the string, whereas direct forms are preferred in later satellites, often exhibiting the sequence of combined forms followed by (F)DD. This pattern seems most apparent in the case of two-satellite Elaboration strings. Although in the strings containing three and especially four and more satellites the data seem to support this arrangement, the patterning is less straightforward and more difficult to delineate due to greater variability in possible combinations, and lower frequency of both satellite strings and forms of presentation. On the other hand, although other satellite types were not primarily examined for their occurrence in strings and the distribution of narration and forms of presentation across them, examples displaying similar patterns can be found e.g. in Contextualizations or Cause-Effect satellites. Also, the sequences of narration, non-direct, combined and pure direct forms were attested within a satellite, irrespective of its type.

Let us now look at the issue from a more general point of view. The function of hard news was explained by the structure based on the relation between the nucleus and its

satellites. The nucleus was said to serve as the interpersonal, ideational and textual peak of prominence and its nuclearity was ascribed to the cooperation of the orbital and periodic patterns (White 1998, Martin 1992). The orbital pattern is based on the inequality of elements and captures the essence of the nucleus-satellite structure. The periodic pattern is displayed in the wave-like movement created every time a satellite reaches back to the nucleus and specifies it. The combination of the orbital and periodic pattern was mainly described as being in the service of highlighting the nucleus and keeping it in relief. Metaphorically speaking, the satellites found at the (rhetorically) lower position on the wave were seen as a means of highlighting the (rhetorical) crest of the wave – the nucleus.

But repetition is not vital only for the functionality of the nucleus for the periodic pattern seems to be exploited to an extent in the satellite stage of the hard news structure too. The sequence of narrative/non-direct forms in the initial satellites of the string and combined and/or pure direct forms in later satellites makes use of the periodic pattern for a gradual increase in directness and a step by step introduction of the reported speaker and his subjectivity. In these strings on each successive occurrence of the satellite there is a shift from narrative/non-direct forms to combined and/or pure direct forms, and hence a shift to the perspective of the reported speaker. The gradual shift in perspective may be best seen as illustrating a prosodic pattern, commonly associated with the expression of interpersonal meaning (Martin 1992). Prosody, described as a non-discrete, continuous, gradually intensifying and amplifying pattern which “smears across” elements of structure (Martin 1992, 11, 553; Martin and Rose 2008, 26-28; also Lemke 1998, 47), is in fact a cline or continuum, applicable to the scale of reported language, deictic centre, directness and perspective. In that sense it is possible to see the perspective of the reported speaker as smeared across a satellite string, gradually intensifying from one satellite to the other.

The periodic pattern creates rhythmical pulses which in combination with the orbital pattern highlight the nucleus, and in combination with the prosodic pattern gradually amplify the perspective of the reported speaker.<sup>55</sup> The combination of the periodic pattern and the orbital pattern produces one main, constant peak of interpersonal prominence in the nucleus, and the combination of the periodic and prosodic pattern produces a number of smaller peaks in the strings in the body of the text. Whereas the peak in the nucleus identifies the point of disruption, unifies the angle and reflects the perspective of the reporting speaker/narrator, the smaller peaks forming towards the end of Elaboration strings, i.e. in satellites with a

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<sup>55</sup> For an example of the generic analysis combining the orbital and prosodic patterns see e.g. Martin (1992, 557-559).

comparatively higher degree of directness and subjectivity of the reported speaker, particularize and individualize the point of disruption and the selected angle. Figure 3 illustrates the combination of the orbital, periodic and prosodic patterns mapped onto the scale of forms of presentation.

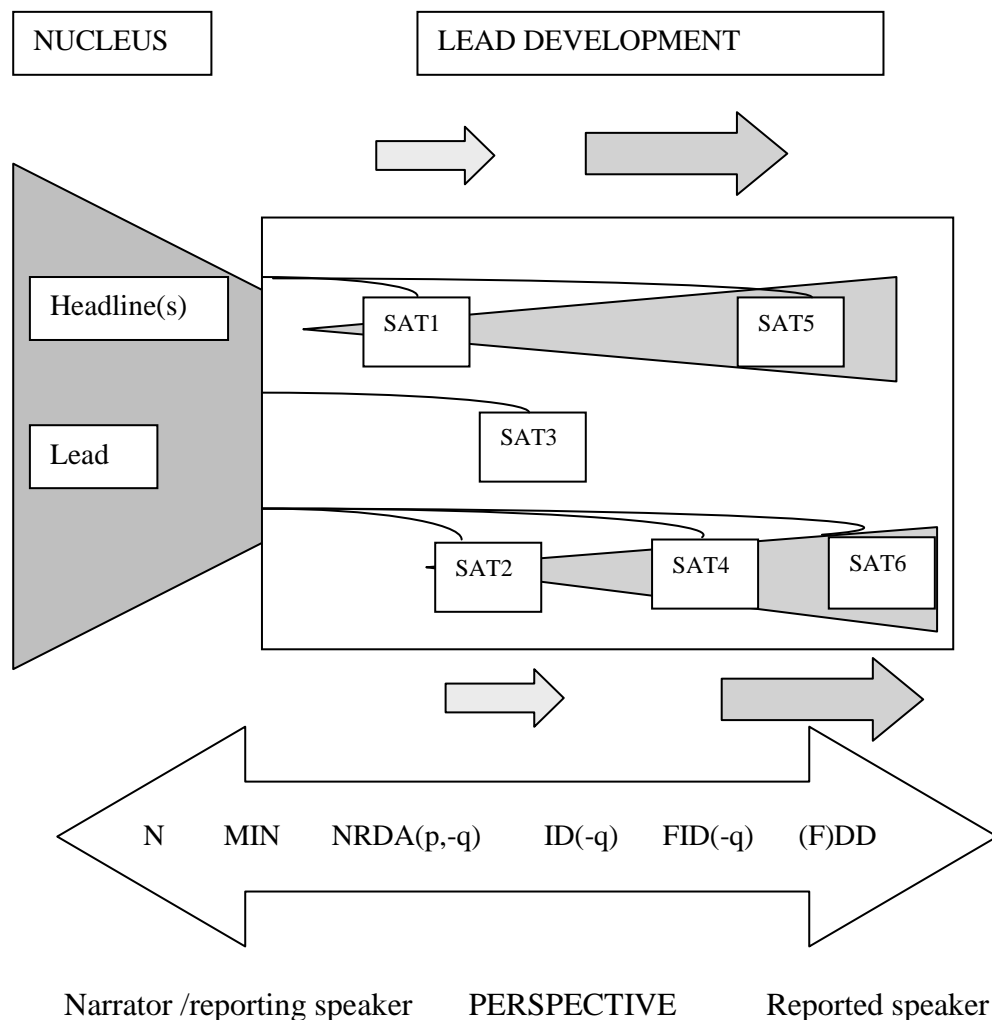


Figure 3: Scale of reported language mapped onto the orbital, periodic and prosodic patterns

The orbitality is diagrammed by the boxed-in nucleus, the Headline(s) and the Lead, and the boxed-in Lead development (the body of the text) comprising a hypothetical number of six satellites specifying the nucleus (indicated by the full lines). The body of the text comprises three hypothetical strings: a one-satellite string (satellite 3), a two-satellite string (satellites 1 and 5) and a three-satellite string (satellites 2, 4 and 6). The prosodic pattern within the Lead development is represented by the smaller shaded arrows above and below whose increase in size corresponds to the gradual increase in intensification across the two-

satellite string from satellite 1 to satellite 5, and across the three-satellite string from satellite 2, to satellite 4 and to satellite 6. The increase in the subjectivity of the reported speaker in the two strings runs parallel to the scale of perspective with the reporting speaker on the left and the reported speaker on the right, with the corresponding forms, i.e. narration and minimal forms on the left, free direct and direct forms of presentation on the right, and the non-direct and combined forms in between.

The shaded quadrangle positioned under the Headlines and Lead signals that as opposed to the Lead development it is the nucleus that functions as the interpersonal peak of the whole structure. The broadening towards the side of the nucleus, or the narrowing in the direction of the body of the text, signals that the nucleus is oriented towards the perspective of the narrator or reporting speaker, corresponding to the left (narrative, non-direct) section of the perspective/directness scale. The shaded triangles positioned under the two satellite strings represent the gradual strengthening of the interpersonal meaning across each string, with their broader sides towards the end of each string showing the increase in the subjectivity of the reported speaker, pointing to the right (direct) section of the perspective/directness scale. The prosodic broadening towards the left in the case of the nucleus and towards the right in the case of the satellite strings must be interpreted in connection with the orbital and periodic patterns: any time a satellite reaches back to the nucleus, it brings to the fore the nuclear, more interpersonally loaded section; any time a successive satellite in a string connects to the nucleus, from the perspective of the reported speaker it is more interpersonally loaded than the previous satellite(s).

The nuclear role of the Headline and Lead at the interpersonal level was attributed to the orientation of hard news to a mass audience, the identification of the social significance of the event and establishing the common angle. In case the above described patterns are applied to the body of the text, there may be more threads (strings) featuring the gradual rise in the interpersonal meaning with potential individual peaks of their own. In the strings the rise in the interpersonal meaning works differently and has a different function than the concentration of the interpersonal values in the nucleus. The gradual amplification of interpersonal prosody is not unifying as the nucleus but on the contrary more particularizing and individualizing, based on laying in full the perspective of one specific individual or group of individuals, culminating towards the end of the string in the forms of presentation with a relatively high degree of directness and reported speaker's subjectivity.

In the case of Elaboration strings, the angle selected for the nucleus is reiterated but enriched by the expressivity and optics of the reported speaker. Whereas the peak in the



nucleus reflects the perspective of the reporting speaker, the peaks within the Lead development seem rather to reflect the perspective(s) of the reported speaker(s). This structure is created by all three textual patterns – orbital, periodic and prosodic. Intuitively, gradual amplification, individualization and particularization at the interpersonal level seem to correspond with the idea of gradual elaboration and specification of detail at the ideational level, discussed in connection with the inverted pyramid (e.g. van Dijk 1988, Bell 1991).

However, it needs to be borne in mind that in order to obtain a complete picture of the interplay between the orbital, periodic and prosodic patterns we need to examine also non-direct forms and narration, studied here only marginally and mainly in comparison to the way direct forms work. The idea of interpersonal intensification and gradual strengthening reflects the focus of the thesis, i.e. direct forms of presentation, but if the opposite angle was adopted, i.e. the role of narration, non-direct forms and the perspective of the journalist, the strings in the body of the text would be characterised by gradual backgrounding of the reporting speaker, fading away of his presence and weakening of his perspective and control over the content and form. But this is in line with the prosodic (scalar) nature of the interpersonal meaning, reported language and perspective. Moreover, forms of presentation may be only one of the linguistic reflexes of the prosodic intensification pegged onto periodic repetition and should be studied in interaction with other lexico-grammatical means which convey interpersonal meaning and are realized prosodically.

Finally, what is of vital importance for the understanding of the interplay between the orbital, periodic and prosodic patterns is their role in the creation of genre. The orbital pattern is the basis of the nucleus-satellite structure and its combination with the periodic pattern produces sequences of peaks and troughs essential to the rhetorical potential of the genre of hard news. Their application is systematic (with the exception of sub-satellites or compound satellites) and may be thus considered generically constitutive. On the other hand, the combination of the periodic and prosodic pattern operates between individual members of satellite strings the relation of which is by no means fundamental to hard news. Consequently, the cooperation of the prosodic and periodic pattern cannot be placed on a par with the orbital and periodic patterns but must be seen as their offshoot which is not exploited systematically as a text organizing principle governing the occurrence and order of the individual stages with a specific generic function. As shown by the data in chapters 6.5.2 – 6.5.5 dealing with Elaboration strings, the arrangement of satellites according to the presence of narration/non-direct forms, combined and pure direct forms is only a tendency which seems to assert itself

to different extent in dependence on the number of satellites per string, and even in the case of two-satellite strings its application is not invariable and not necessary.

Issues reports are a rich source of reported language, and some of them may be built almost exclusively on forms of presentation (e.g. the case study). The presence of reported language can be looked at paradigmatically and syntagmatically. Syntagmatically speaking, an issues report is a collage of original texts (and genres) which have been pasted together and gained the status of reported language. It is reasonable to assume that after recontextualization certain amount of information is lost and certain amount of information is (re-)added. The original form and content may be changed and adapted to the extent following from the chosen form of presentation, and the original focus of concern and communicative purpose may be shifted to suit the generic objectives of the recontextualizing text.

These alterations may be done in order to meet the socially grounded communicative goal and the expected textual form of the newly created text and genre. Possible explicit argumentation may be broken down and substituted with implicit cues of debate (White 1998, 363-375), such as, for example, concessive, concurring and concessive-concurring sequences. Despite restricting the validity of an opinion to the subjectivity of the reported speaker, concurring sequences may serve to enforce a particular point of view and thus to an extent diminish the dialogic space and solidarity, undermining the claim of unbiased and objective reporting. On the other hand, concessive and partly also concessive-concurring sequences rather open the dialogic space, enhance solidarity with alternative points of view, supporting the claim of unbiased and objective reporting.

More extended concessive/concurring sequences may slightly shift the character of the report to a more argumentative and debate-like style, especially if satellite adjacency is further accented by e.g. the presence of compound satellites, sub-satellites or wrap-up. As a result, the generically-determined social purpose of chronicling or documenting, which follows from the nucleus-satellite structure (and reporter voice), may be coloured by the purpose of argumentation and debate. The implicit debate does not follow from manifest formal links but rather from multiplicity of voices and forms of presentation whose adjacency deemphasises the orbital structure and accentuates linear patterning. This leads us to the paradigmatic view of genre.

Paradigmatically speaking, the social purpose of documenting and reporting determines the generic affiliation of the issues report and contrasts with other texts and genres. As pointed out by White (1998, 352-353), there is a tension between the report's ultimate goal of documentation, which categorizes it taxonomically with other reporting

genres, and the purpose of the multiple voices in the extra-textualized or extra-vocalised material, which may be to argue and which categorizes it taxonomically with other arguing genres. Expressed metaphorically, the issues report is a report standing for a debate (Martin and Rose 2008, 247-250). On the surface reading, the text is a report on what the news actors believe about a particular issue, on the deeper reading it is a constructed debate on the issue. This view is consonant with van Leeuwen's (1987) idea of forms of presentation creating a double structure serving overt and covert social purposes.

The extent to which the presence of extra-vocalised multiple points of view on an issue contributes to the debate-like character may vary in dependence on how much of the original purpose has been retained, how much it asserts itself or how much it has been subordinated to and overridden by the communicative objective and the generic structure of the new text. Topologically, the original texts that "lurk behind" may affect the proximity of the newly created text token to the centre or periphery in dependence on the configurations of meaning communicated by the text and how the meanings are phased as the text unfolds (Martin and Rose 2008, 240, 248). This may also be affected by forms of presentation since the degree of directness is related to the degree of subjectivity with which a point of view is presented and the strength with which a voice resonates in the text.

The thesis has outlined some tendencies in the employment of direct forms of presentation in the generic structure of hard news. Naturally, if different perspective was adopted, the analysis would yield results varying in focus and explanation of the examined phenomena. It is necessary to say that the conclusions are only tentative and need to be supported by further research, especially since the analysis of the generic structure may have been to an extent affected by subjective interpretation. Moreover, more data are needed as regards the function of direct forms of presentation in less frequent satellites and in parts of the generic structure in which direct forms themselves are employed less frequently. Also, to obtain a complete picture of how reported language works in hard news, further lines of inquiry into non-direct forms and narration need to be pursued, together with additional language means which have the potential to evoke perspective and to create heteroglossic background.

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## Résumé

Cílem této práce bylo zmapovat distribuci a funkci různých typů přímých forem prezentace v žánrové struktuře novinové zprávy v seriozním britském tisku. Funkce přímých forem byla posuzována na základě jejich deiktických, syntaktických a pragmatických vlastností ve spojitosti s funkcí novinové zprávy jako žánru a s funkcí jednotlivých částí žánrové struktury. Význam přímých forem prezentace byl interpretován též z hlediska konceptů gradientu, perspektivy původního mluvčího či podavatele, heteroglosie a dialogu mezi jednotlivými hlasy na pozadí či v textu.

Základní funkcí novinové zprávy (tzv. „hard news“) je identifikace závažného problému, který představuje porušení sociálních a morálních zvyklostí a hodnot (Iedema a kol. 1994, White 1997, 1998, 2000). Definice novinové zprávy na základě její sociální funkce se odráží i ve zpravodajských hodnotách (tzv. „news values“), zejména novosti, negativitě, personalizaci, vztahu k elitám, konsonanci, jednoznačnosti či významnosti pro život příjemců (Galtung a Ruge 1965, Bell 1991). Dalším fundamentálním aspektem novinové zprávy je její důraz (či jeho pouhá proklamace) na objektivní a neosobní prezentaci informace, která upořádá roli novináře a je spíše založena na systematickém opakování vybraných aspektů prezentované události. Toto je dosaženo zejména absencí evaluace a argumentace v jazyce novináře (tzv. „reporter voice“) a orbitální žánrovou strukturou, jež se v oblasti praktické žurnalistiky obvykle nazývá „obrácená pyramida“ („inverted pyramid“) (Iedema a kol. 1994, White 1997, 1998, 2000, Bell 1991). Absence autorské evaluace a orbitální struktura jsou vysvětlovány potřebou reflektovat ideologickou a názorovou rozdílnost příjemců a potřebou dialogu a solidarity s alternativními výklady (White 1998, Bakhtin 1981). V obou těchto aspektech hrají přímé formy prezentace svou nezastupitelnou roli.

Kapitola 4 se zabývá různými přístupy k analýze struktury novinové zprávy. Krátce představuje výše zmíněnou obrácenou pyramidu a její základní vlastnost, tedy možnost tzv. radikální editace („radical editability“), která dovoluje restrukturovat či redukovat článek bez zjevného negativního vlivu na obsah či koherenci textu. Van Dijk (1988) aplikuje kognitivní přístup a za pomoci sémanticko-kognitivních kategorií popisuje strukturu zprávy na různých úrovních abstrakce, Bell (1991) pracuje s narativními kategoriemi a van Leeuwen (1987) posuzuje novinové texty z pohledu rétorických strategií a korelace s vybranými lexiko-gramatickými jevy.

Tato práce z velké části navazuje na dílo Ricka Iedemy a kol. (1994) a zejména Petera Whita (1997, 1998), kteří ve svém přístupu k žánru patří do tzv. australské školy („the Sydney School“) a na žánr nahlíží z pohledu systémové funkční lingvistiky Michaela Hallidaye. Žánr

je definován jako útvar, který realizuje určitý sociální proces a má konkrétní komunikativní cíl, kterého je dosaženo pomocí konvenční struktury textu, jejíž jednotlivé části (tzv. „stages“) hrají v žánrové struktuře jako celku jasně definovanou roli a jejichž absence může vyústit v selhání textu a nesplnění zvoleného komunikativního cíle (Martin a kol. 1987; Martin 1992; Iedema a kol. 1994; Martin a Rose 2008). Novinová zpráva, viděna touto optikou, si klade za cíl identifikaci společensky závažné události a její popis ve formě, která je objektivní, neosobní a neinterpretativní, a odráží proces masifikace a ideologické různorodosti příjemce a tedy i potřebu dialogičnosti a heteroglosie. Orbitální žánrová struktura toto umožňuje díky minimální linearitě a omezení na dvě konvenční funkční části – tzv. nukleus, který je tvořen jedním či více titulky a úvodním odstavcem (tzv. perex, „lead“), a vlastním textem, který je tvořen několika samostatnými částmi, tzv. satelity (Iedema a kol. 1994, White 1997, 1998).

Jak již bylo řečeno, každá část žánrové struktury má svou funkci. Jak naznačuje termín samotný, role nukleu je nadřazena zbytku textu a je do určité míry identická s funkcí novinové zprávy jako celku. Nukleus (titulek a perex) identifikuje jev, jenž je považován za společensky, kulturně, politicky nebo morálně nežádoucí, ohrožující či destabilizující status quo a akceptované normy a zvyklosti v různých oblastech společenské aktivity (Iedema a kol. 1994, White 1997, 1998). Tímto zároveň dochází k upevňování a udržování daných norem. Protože je *raison d'être* celé zprávy předložen čtenáři již na začátku textu, není čtenář nucen sám vyhodnotit závažnost či pozoruhodnost jednotlivých aspektů události a dochází ke sjednocení úhlu pohledu, což je důležité i z důvodu heterogenity čtenářského publika (Iedema a kol. 1994, Fink 1997, White 1997, 1998). Nukleus tedy hraje významnou roli na rovině interpersonální, ale protože slouží jako abstrakt či synopse celé zprávy, funguje též zásadním způsobem i na rovině ideační, a jako téma celé zprávy je důležitý též na rovině textové (White 1998, Halliday a Matthiessen 2004).

Funkce jednotlivých satelitů spočívá ve specifikaci nukleu na úkor textových a rétorických vztahů mezi satelity samotnými. Tato struktura má za následek dva důležité aspekty. Každý satelit se vrací zpět k nukleární části a specifikuje ji, čímž udržuje zdůrazněné hodnoty v popředí a pozornosti čtenáře (White 1997, 1998, 2000). Naopak absence vztahů mezi satelity způsobuje časté střídání tématu, jehož prezentace probíhá v opakujících se cyklech, a celá struktura se jeví jako soubor faktů či informací, jež se koncentrují kolem nukleu a nedávají prostor pro hlubší pojednání a rozvoj argumentace. Toto též přispívá k dojmu objektivity (Iedema a kol. 1994, White 1998, van Dijk 1988).

V korpusu 175 novinových zpráv byl identifikován stejný počet perexů (úvodních odstavců, „leadů“) a 235 titulků. Taxonomie rétorických vztahů, částečně inspirovaná teorií

rétorické struktury textu (Mann a Thompson 1988), byla převzata z děl Whita (1997, 1998, 2000). Satelit specifikuje nukleus formou Elaborace („Elaboration“, 588 výskytů), Kontextu („Contextualization“, 370), Evaluace („Appraisal“, 148), nebo uvádí kauzální („Cause-Effect“) vztahy, např. Koncesi („Concession“, 17), Konsekvenci („Consequence“, 84) a její textové analogie poskytující podpůrné Argumenty („Justification“, 23) nebo zpochybňující Proti-Argumenty („Counter-Justification“, 33). Na základě analýzy konkrétních textů byla tato taxonomie obohacena o další dva typy satelitů, tzv. Balanc („Balance“, 6) a Rezoluce („Wrap-up“, 5). Tyto satelity jsou svým výskytem sice marginální, ale z hlediska funkce novinové zprávy důležité. Balanc vysvětluje absenci určitého pohledu na prezentovanou událost a tím částečně omlouvá ideologickou nevyváženost zprávy a omezení prostoru pro dialog; Rezoluce vysvětluje absenci závěru či rozřešení, jehož přítomnost spolu s evaluací je typická pro závěrečnou fázi ve struktuře narativní (např. Labov 1972). Je tedy zřejmé, že určité rétorické vztahy jsou v žánru novinové zprávy preferované a realizují tzv. rétorický repertoár žánru, kdežto jiné se objevují zřídka (Gruber a Muntigl 2005, Mann a Thompson 1988).

Jak již bylo řečeno, pro funkcionalitu novinové zprávy a její žánrovou strukturu je zásadní uspořádání orbitální, založeno na vztahu závislosti mezi částicemi struktury, nukleem a satelity. Nukleus, který se dostává do popředí při specifikaci satelitem, vytváří spolu se satelity sérii cyklů či „vln“, které jsou založeny na střídání částí s větší (nukleus) a menší (satelit) mírou emfáze a důležitosti (tzv. „peaks and troughs“) a ilustrují uspořádání periodické (Martin 1992, Martin a Rose 2008). Tento úhel pohledu vnímá satelity zejména vzhledem k jejich vztahu k nukleu a roli jich samotných do určité míry upozadňuje. Přímé a nepřímé formy prezentace v jednotlivých satelitech též mohou částečně využít periodického uspořádání a to v kombinaci s realizací prosodickou, definovanou jako kontinuum s postupnou intensifikací či amplifikací (Martin 1992, Martin a Rose 2008).

Protože vztah nukleus-satelit lze považovat za žánrotvorný, v analýze byl vždy upřednostňován, např. před možným vztahem mezi juxtaponovanými satelity. V některých případech ale lze najít závislostní vztah výlučně mezi dvěma satelity, kde je závislý člen nazýván sub-satelitem („sub-satellite“), nebo multi-nukleární satelity, tzv. satelity složené („compound satellite“), které sdružují satelity stejné rétorické závažnosti, jež nejsou ve vzájemném funkčním vztahu, nýbrž specifikují nukleus, jsou ale spojeny graficky v jednom odstavci. V porovnání s výskytem 1653 satelitů, které se vztahují k nukleu, bylo zjištěno pouze 31 sub-satelitů a 40 složených satelitů, sdružujících celkem 83 jednotlivých satelitů. Výskyt sub-satelitů má za následek omezení funkce nukleu a posílení funkce satelitů; výskyt

jinak funkčně nesouvisejících satelitů v jednom odstavci může nepřímě evokovat relevanci a souvislost mezi prezentovanými tématy. Díky nízké frekvenci ale sub-satelity a složené satelity nepřeváží funkcionalitu převládající struktury orbitální. Sub-satelity a přímé formy prezentace, které je realizují, byly do analýzy zahrnuty, kdežto složené satelity a přímé formy v nich obsažené z metodologických důvodů do analýzy zahrnuty nebyly.

Orbitální struktura může být částečně linearizována přítomností po sobě jdoucích satelitů, které vyjadřují názor či postoj k prezentované události. Satelity se mohou řadit v sekvenci souhlasné („concurring“), nesouhlasné či kontrastní („concessive“) nebo v případě tří a více satelitů v kombinaci obou sekvencí („concessive-concurring“). Protože z celkového počtu 89 sekvencí s 216 satelity bylo 23 sekvencí souhlasných, 45 nesouhlasných a 21 kombinovaných, lze se domnívat, že (pokud odhlédneme od řazení orbitálního) bývá juxtapozice satelitů využívána zejména pro kontrast. Tuto tendenci lze vysvětlit tím, že přestože přítomnost dvou či více souhlasných názorů vytváří dialogické prostředí, souhlasné sekvence mohou být interpretovány jako neobjektivní, propagující jeden názor na úkor náhledů alternativních, a tím zároveň i uzavírající prostor pro dialog a solidaritu. Naopak koncesivní sekvence zdůrazňují rozdílnost názorů a pohledů, a tím otevírají prostor pro dialog a podporují vyváženost novinové zprávy. Přestože se v těchto sekvencích objevují satelity různého typu, nejčastěji např. Elaborace, Evaluace a Kontext, a výskyt přímých forem prezentace je do velké míry ovlivněn typem satelitu, je zde role přímé řeči neodmyslitelná, protože je jedním ze zásadních prostředků vyjadřování „hlasu“ („voice“) a jeho perspektivy a subjektivity.

Kapitola 5 se zabývá různými formami podání řeči, ale důraz je kladen zejména na formy řeči přímé. Na formy podání řeči bylo nahlíženo z hlediska jejich deiktických a gramatických vlastností. Kritéria klasifikace zahrnují relativní deiktickou a syntaktickou (ne)závislost uvozované části a formu realizace uvozovaného elementu (větná či frázová) v případě, že je obsah původní výpovědi prezentován. Tyto aspekty jsou tradičně spojovány s mírou věrnosti prezentované formy formě původní, ale protože koncept věrnosti a předpoklad reálné existence původní promluvy nejsou bezproblémové (např. Sternberg 1982, Tannen 1986, Short a kol. 2002), pozornost je věnována zejména potenciálu (re)produkovat (původní) promluvu z perspektivy podavatele či původního mluvčího a míře přítomnosti či interference podavatele (Leech a Short 1981, Semino a kol. 1997, Semino a Short 2004). Perspektiva („perspective“) je definována jako úhel pohledu (Fludernik 1993, 325), subjektivní pohled omezující validitu obsahu či formy pouze na původního mluvčího (Redeker 1993, 69) nebo způsob myšlení a prožívání původního mluvčího (Toolan 1988, 68).

Formy prezentace si lze přestavit jako kontinuum či škálu, na jejímž jednom konci jsou formy vykazující maximální stupeň přímosti, plné zachování deiktiky a perspektivy původního mluvčího a minimální či žádnou intervenci podavatele, a na opačném konci jsou formy vykazující minimální či nulový stupeň přímosti, převládající deiktiku a perspektivu podavatele, a tedy i vysoký stupeň intervence, kontroly a interpretace původní výpovědi. Na konci s maximálním stupněm přímosti lze najít např. přímou a volnou přímou řeč („direct speech, free direct speech“) a na konci s minimálním stupněm přímosti tzv. minimální formy podání řeči, jejichž jediný potenciál je indikace existence původní výpovědi (Semino a Short 2004, 43-48). Mezi těmito hraničními body lze najít formy s různým stupněm přímosti a s perspektivou, kde se v různé míře prosazuje buď pohled původního mluvčího či podavatele, např. polopřímá řeč („free indirect speech“), nepřímá řeč („indirect speech“) a formy, které prezentují obsah pouze ve formě fráze či jej neprezentují vůbec a specifikují jen ilokační sílu („narrator's representation of speech act with/without topic“). V případě kombinovaných forem – tj. nepřímých forem, jejichž část je prezentována formou přímé citace („combined forms, partial quotes“), se vedle sebe objevují dva různé stupně přímosti a perspektivy, jasně oddělené uvozovkami (Semino a Short 2004, 54-55).

Formy prezentace jsou též jedním z prostředků dialogičnosti v textu. Dialog je definován jako interakce mezi hlasy („voices“), které rezonují na pozadí a vytváří soubor protichůdných názorů a hodnot, soubor potenciálních námitek v povědomí mluvčího (Bakhtin 1981, 281). Přítomnost dialogu v textu je známa též pod pojmem heteroglosie a jeho absence pod pojmem monoglosie (Bakhtin 1981, Vološinov 1986, Fairclough 1992, Martin a White 2005). Fairclough (1992, 104) hovoří o tzv. intertextualitě („manifest intertextuality“), tj. explicitní přítomnosti jiných textů. Formy podání řeči jsou přirozeným zdrojem intertextuality a dialogičnosti: přítomnost jednoho individuálního subjektivního hlasu v textu evokuje existenci hlasů a názorů jiných, prezentovaný obsah se stává jedním z mnoha možných a vytváří prostor pro dialog a negociaci. Pokud je validita prezentovaného obsahu omezena pouze na perspektivu a subjektivitu hlasu původního mluvčího, nemá obsah status faktu, obecně platné a přijímané skutečnosti, nýbrž připouští diskusi, zpochybnění, námitky (Martin a White 2005). Přítomnost forem podání řeči vytváří dialogické/heteroglosické prostředí a bere v potaz hlasy na pozadí. Protože novinová zpráva prezentuje téma, které je relativně nové, společensky závažné a jehož interpretace a význam nemají zdaleka status faktu a nemusí být finální, jsou tyto hlasy na pozadí pro funkcionalitu tohoto žánru zásadní. Jelikož ne všechny formy prezentace disponují stejným potenciálem evokovat perspektivu původního mluvčího, reflektují v různé míře potřebu dialogu a ideologické diverzity.

Různé klasifikace forem prezentace akcentují různé aspekty. Vlastnost kontinua je přítomna v přístupu McHala (1978), Leech a Shorta (1981), Semina a kol. (1997) a v korpusové studii Semina a Shorta (2004). Leech, Semino a Short ve svých publikacích hovoří též o míře věrnosti prezentace s ohledem na ilokuční sílu, obsah a formu („faithfulness claims“) a zabývají se mírou interference či kontroly podavatele nad formou prezentace. Thompson (1996) nahlíží na formy prezentace z několika úhlů, např. míry věrnosti, typu podavatele, postoje podavatele k obsahu nebo vztahu uvozovaného a uvozovacího elementu. Vandelanotte (2009) zdůrazňuje syntaktickou a deiktickou (ne)závislost uvozované věty na větě uvozovací.

Tato práce se opírá o taxonomii autorů Leech a Shorta (1981), Semina a kol. (1997) a Semina a Shorta (2004). Základním kritériem je distinkce mezi formami, které prezentují původní promluvu mluvenou („speech“), psanou („writing“) či reprodukují myšlenku („thought“). V případech, kdy toto rozlišení není relevantní nebo nutné, je k formám souhrnně referováno jako k prezentovanému/podávanému diskursu („discourse“). Pragmatická kritéria škály přímosti, věrnosti podání, perspektivy a míry kontroly a interpretace podavatele jsou odvozována od vlastností deiktických a syntaktických, jež nutně nejsou odvislá od existence původní promluvy, a jsou tedy vhodnějšími základními kritérii pro kategorizaci. V tomto aspektu se práce opírá též o přístupy jiných autorů, zvláště pak Sternberga (1982) a Vandelanotteho (2009).

Přímá („direct discourse“, DD) a volná přímá řeč („free direct discourse“, FDD) je charakterizována deiktickou autonomií uvozovaného elementu a jeho syntaktickou nezávislostí, což se odráží v možnosti užití forem a struktur, které se ve formách nepřímých objevují s menší pravděpodobností, např. deiktické výrazy vázané s kontextem odlišným od kontextu podání promluvy, interogativní, imperativní a zvolací struktura, vokativ, nevětné struktury atd. (Banfield 1973, Sternberg 1982, Vandelanotte 2009). Toto se odráží v potenciálu zachovat maximální míru přímosti a věrnosti prezentované promluvě (ilokuční síla, obsah, forma) a plně ji demonstrovat („demonstrate“) či rekonstruovat („re-enact“) (Semino a kol. 1997, Clark a Gerrig 1990, Vandelanotte 2009). Vzhledem k identitě deiktických a syntaktických vlastností se v některých přístupech FDD a DD považují za pragmatické varianty (např. Semino a Short 2004, Vandelanotte 2009); FDD se vyznačuje absencí uvozovek, uvozovací věty či absencí obou znaků (Leech a Short 1981).

Pro nepřímé formy prezentace („indirect discourse“, ID) je charakteristická deiktická a syntaktická závislost uvozované věty na větě uvozovací, limitující míru přímosti a věrnosti prezentace pouze na ilokuční sílu a obsah. Celkově je uvozovaná věta přizpůsobena deiktické



orientaci věty uvozovací, což nese za důsledek i omezení forem a struktur volně se vyskytujících ve formách přímých (Banfield 1973, Semino a kol. 1997, Sternberg 1982, Vandelanotte 2009). Z tohoto vyplývá i nemožnost plně demonstrovat či rekonstruovat původní promluvu; naopak ID skýtá možnosti popisu, sumarizace a interpretace (Clark a Gerrig 1990, Vandelanotte 2009, Semino a Short 2004).

Polopřímá řeč („free indirect discourse“, FID) se často označuje jako forma nesoucí znaky řeči přímé a nepřímé: z pohledu syntaktického je uvozovaný element nezávislý na elementu uvozovacím; z pohledu deiktického jsou prostředky času a osoby přizpůsobeny centru podavatele, kdežto všechny ostatní znaky odráží deiktiku mluvčího původního (Redeker 1996, Leech a Short 1981, Oltean 2003). Přechodný charakter se odráží i v míře věrnosti prezentace (ilokuční síla, obsah, částečně forma) a v potenciálu částečně demonstrovat/rekonstruovat původní promluvu (Semino a kol. 1997, Clark a Gerrig 1990, Vandelanotte 2009). Možná právě kvůli svému přechodnému charakteru a dvojí deixi není polopřímá řeč pro novinovou zprávu charakteristická (cf. Redeker 1996).

Pokud postupujeme na škále přímosti prezentace směrem od její maximální hodnoty k hodnotě minimální, vedle řeči nepřímé je situována forma s potenciálem prezentovat pouze ilokuční sílu („narrator's representation of discourse act“, NRDA). Variantou je forma, jež sice může prezentovat obsah či téma, ale na rozdíl od nepřímé řeči pouze ve formě fráze („narrator's representation of discourse act with topic“, NRDAp). Tento typ umožňuje obsah více kondenzovat a sumarizovat a dobře ilustruje gradient přítomný ve všech formách prezentace (Semino a Short 2004, 52-53). Na konci s minimální mírou přímosti a maximálním vlivem podavatele jsou minimální formy prezentace, které nereprodukuje formu, obsah ani ilokuční sílu a poskytují podavateli pouze možnost konstatovat (ne)existenci původní komunikativní události či myšlenky (Semino a Short 2004, 42-48). Minimální formy prezentace jsou mimo rámec této práce.

Nepřímé formy s potenciálem prezentovat obsah původní promluvy a myšlenky jsou předmětem práce pouze v kombinaci s částečnou citací, tedy FID-q, ID-q, NRDAp-q („quotation phenomenon“, -q) (Semino a Short 2004, 54-55). Do analýzy byla též zahrnuta kombinace narativního/primárního/neprezentovaného diskursu a částečné citace (N-q), vyznačující se přítomností uvozovek a absencí uvozovacího signálu.

Výše popsané formy představují základní inventář forem prezentace. Variantami forem základních jsou formy vnořené („embedded“), tj. formy prezentace, které se vyskytují v rámci forem jiných a jsou projevem reciprocity reflexivního charakteru jazyka (Semino a Short 2004, 54-55). Dále se jedná o formy hypotetické („hypothetical“), postrádající reálnou

původní předlohu a zahrnující případy reference k formám budoucím, možným, imaginárním nebo jinak nereálným (Ryan 1991, Semino a kol. 1999, Semino a Short 2004, 56-57). Poslední varianta – inferovaná myšlenka („inferred thought“) – souvisí s původem této formy a charakterem zkoumaného žánru: myšlenka je záležitost čistě vnitřní a neverbalizovaná, takže ji v diskursu s absencí vševědoucího vypravěče lze považovat pouze za vyvozenou či inferovanou (Semino a Short 2004, 55-56). Z tohoto důvodu jsou formy prezentující myšlenku převážně nepřímé, formy s elementem přímé citace jsou většinou též vnořené, a tedy i mimo zodpovědnost reportéra.

Analýza je založena na korpusu 175 novinových zpráv na domácí a mezinárodní témata excerpovaných z hlavních britských deníků (*The Times*, *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*) mezi roky 2010 a 2011. Výběr textů částečně reflektuje kritéria uvedena v publikacích Bell (1991) a Biber (1990, 1993), ale zásadními aspekty byla žánrová orbitální struktura a absence evaluace v jazyce reportéra („reporter voice“). Korpus má rozsah 76 945 slov, z nichž 17 960 (23,3%) slov se objevuje v rámci přímé citace, čítající celkem 1 027 různých typů přímých forem prezentace. V jednotlivých sub-korpusech dle deníku se počet přímých forem prezentace pohybuje mezi 12,2 a 14,6 forem na 1 000 slov.

V korpusu bylo identifikováno celkem 1 027 forem s jednoznačnou interpretací a 90 forem nejednoznačných. Pro zjednodušení prezentace budou používány zkratky anglických termínů (viz výše). Písmena *S*, *W*, *T* ve zkratkách odpovídají anglickým termínům *speech*, *writing* a *thought*. Frekvence výskytu jednoznačných forem je následující: 188 volných přímých forem (177 FDS, 11 FDW), 482 přímých forem (440 DS, 36 DW, 6 DT), 11 kombinovaných polopřímých forem (10 FIS-q, 1 FIW-q), 211 kombinovaných nepřímých forem (181 IS-q, 21 IW-q, 9 IT-q), 95 kombinovaných forem prezentujících ilokuční sílu a částečně obsah (72 NRSAp-q, 16 NRWAp-q, 7 NRTAp-q) a 40 případů kombinace narativního diskursu s částečnou přímou citací (N-q).

Tyto údaje naznačují dvě tendence: převahu (volných) přímých forem (670) nad formami kombinovanými (357) a převahu formy mluvené (880) nad formou psanou (85), myšlenkou (22) či formami bez signálu prezentace (40). Další silnou tendencí je převaha nevnořených forem (965) nad formami vnořenými na stupni prvním (55), stupni druhém (6) a třetím (1), což lze přičítat jak deiktické a gramatické komplexitě vnořených forem, tak i vlivu vnoření na pragmatickou funkci. Důležitá je i spojitost mezi vnořením a prezentací myšlenky, kdy z celkového počtu 22 přímých forem byly 2 nevnořené, 18 vnořených na stupni prvním, 1 na stupni druhém a 1 na stupni třetím. Na nejednoznačné formy nebyl brán v interpretaci

zřetel s výjimkou těch, které se jeví jako přímo spojené s žánrem novinové zprávy obecně či s vlastnostmi a funkcí konkrétní části žánrové struktury.

Potenciál evokovat perspektivu původního mluvčího nebo podavatele v závislosti na deiktických a gramatických vlastnostech koreluje s pragmatickými funkcemi. Přímá a volná přímá řeč umožňují plně demonstrovat prezentovanou promluvu a maximálně zachovat perspektivu původního mluvčího, takže jsou vhodné v kontextech, které vyžadují minimální znaky přítomnosti podavatele a jeho interference s obsahem, formou a ilokucí. Naopak nepřímé či kombinované formy mohou posloužit jako vhodný prostředek pro shrnutí, interpretaci a parafrázi; kombinované formy ještě navíc disponují možností akcentovat část citovanou přímo a oddělit ji od perspektivy podavatele. Nicméně je nutné podotknout, že částečná citace je gramaticky a sémanticky zakomponována do nepřímé formy a interpretována v jejím kontextu, což může vést ke zkreslenému podání (Semino a kol. 1997, 31).

Interpretace výsledků analýz je obsahem kapitoly 6. Kapitoly 6.2 a 6.3 se zabývají základními částmi nukleu, tedy titulkem a perexem. Z celkového počtu 235 titulků obsahovalo 71 titulků celkem 71 různých přímých forem: 12 FDD, 1 DD, 0 FID-q, 2 ID-q, 6 NRDAp-q, 23 N-q a 27 nejednoznačných forem. Z celkového počtu 175 perexů jich obsahovalo 35 stejný počet přímých forem: 0 FDD, 1 DD, 0 FID-q, 9 ID-q, 9 NRDAp-q, 5 N-q a 11 forem s nejednoznačnou interpretací. Přes rozdíly v konkrétních číslech je v obou částech nukleu patrna silná tendence spoléhat se buď na formy nepřímé či pouze na diskurs primární, který z pohledu forem podání řeči není zdrojem externího hlasu. Nukleus založený na primárním nebo nepřímo prezentovaném diskurzu reflektuje v různé míře perspektivu původního mluvčího a zároveň či pouze perspektivu podavatele, ale nikoliv jen perspektivu mluvčího původního. Primární diskurs nebo nepřímé formy nabízejí možnost sumarizace a interference podavatele, a dávají tak prostor pro nastínění události z úhlu pohledu, který vystihuje závažnost popisované události v určitém (vybraném, preferovaném) politickém, ekonomickém, kulturním a morálním kontextu, a tak eliminuje možnost odlišného hodnocení či vidění dané události.

Naopak přímé a volné přímé formy, odrážející pouze perspektivu původního mluvčího, mohou být příliš subjektivní a ve své svázanosti s konkrétním mluvčím příliš individualizované, aby plnily účel sjednocujícího úhlu pohledu na prezentovanou událost. Výjimkou jsou titulky, jejichž úkolem je ale zároveň na rozdíl od perexu upoutat pozornost čtenáře, a kde (volná) přímá řeč dosahuje efektu naléhavosti, dramatu, expresivity, subjektivity a celkové atraktivity. Kombinované formy, jež jsou častější než čistě přímé

formy, nabízejí výhody obou funkcí: přinášejí externí hlas a perspektivu, takže vycházejí vstříc názorové a hodnotové různorodosti a částečně zbavují podavatele zodpovědnosti, a zároveň dovolují interpretaci mimojazykové události a naplňují ji sdílenou závažností.

Vzhledem k normativní absenci evaluace v jazyce reportéra je výskyt satelitů Evaluace („Appraisal“) pevně vázán na extravokalizaci, zejména na výskyt přímých forem prezentace. Z počtu 148 satelitů Evaluace obsahuje 126 z nich celkem 202 přímých forem prezentace: 44 FDD, 118 DD, 2 FID-q, 19 ID-q, 13 NRDAp-q, 0 N-q a 6 nejednoznačných forem. Jednoznačné přímé a volné přímé formy (162) zde jasně převládají nad kombinovanými formami (34). Satelity Evaluace hodnotí elementy nukleu významy afektu či na základě estetických nebo morálních norem (White 1998, Martin a White 2005), a tak je vedle nukleu lze považovat za místa koncentrace interpersonálního významu. Mezi interpersonálností nukleu a interpersonálností Evaluace je ale zásadní rozdíl, který přímo souvisí s frekvencí a typem preferovaných forem. Zatímco interpersonálnost nukleu je založena na navození společné optiky na daný problém, Evaluace reaguje na heteroglosické pozadí a dialog s alternativami tím, že předkládá jedno z mnoha subjektivních, individualizovaných hodnocení, což se odráží v relativně nízké frekvenci přímých forem v případě prvním, a jejich poměrně vysoké frekvenci v případě druhém, zvláště pak (volných) přímých forem. Volné přímé a přímé formy se svou maximální mírou přímosti umožňují vyobrazit expresivitu a perspektivu původního mluvčího a díky minimální intervenci podavatele jej zbavují zodpovědnosti za obsah i formu, což je v případě Evaluace zásadní. Nižší frekvence kombinovaných forem je nepochybně spojena s potenciální přítomností postoje a interpretace podavatele.

Přestože je Kontext („Contextualization“) druhým nejčastějším satelitem (370), nelze toto říci o výskytu přímých forem, protože pouze 121 satelitů je charakterizováno přítomností přímé řeči (179): 29 FDD, 77 DD, 3 FID-q, 39 ID-q, 14 NRDAp-q, 5 N-q a 12 nejednoznačných forem. Relativně nízký výskyt přímých forem obecně a větší proporci forem kombinovaných (61) oproti (F)DD (106) v porovnání např. se satelity Evaluace lze vysvětlit tím, že Kontext obvykle komunikuje rétorické významy, které nepředstavují pro neosobní styl reportéra příliš velký risk, a možná (výhradní) přítomnost hlasu podavatele/reportéra nemusí mít závažné následky pro funkci novinové zprávy. Přímé formy prezentace jsou v satelitu Kontextu přítomny zejména v těch zprávách, kde je nukleus konstruován jako verbální událost („issues reports“), kde satelit obsahuje evaluativní lexikální prostředky nebo v případech, kdy funguje jako implicitní argument.

Satelitem s nejčastější frekvencí výskytu je Elaborace („Elaboration“), významná i pro vysoký výskyt přímých forem. Z celkového počtu 588 satelitů jich 287 bylo realizováno za účasti přímých forem (433): 73 FDD, 197 DD, 3 FID-q, 90 ID-q, 35 NRDAp-q, 5 N-q a 30 nejednoznačných forem. Z pohledu počtu satelitů s přímými formami i poměru (F)DD (270) k formám kombinovaným (133) lze umístit satelity Elaborace mezi satelity Evaluace a Kontextu, i když v druhém aspektu se Elaborace přibližuje více Kontextu. Jelikož Elaborace specifikuje části nukleu, lze často nalézt podobnost mezi formami prezentace po stránce obsahu, ilokuční síly, klíčových frází nebo vnořených forem. Rozdíl ale bývá v míře přímosti prezentace a tím i perspektivě, protože zatímco nukleus preferuje formy narativní, nepřímé či kombinované, Elaborace se často spoléhá na (volné) přímé formy. Tímto lze dosáhnout toho, že sjednocující úhel pohledu z nukleu je dále v textu zopakován, ale již vyjadřuje subjektivní perspektivu konkrétního jednotlivce.

S tímto souvisí i otázka řetězení („strings“) satelitů Elaborace. Celkový počet 653 satelitů Elaborace, včetně 41 složených satelitů a 24 satelitů s nejednoznačnou funkcí, vytvořil 132 řetězců s jedním satelitem, 109 řetězců se dvěma satelity (celkem tedy 218 satelitů), 41 řetězců se třemi satelity (123 satelitů), 25 se čtyřmi satelity (100 satelitů), 10 s pěti satelity (50 satelitů) a 5 řetězců po šesti satelitech (30 satelitů). Čím vyšší je počet satelitů v řetězci, tím nižší je frekvence tohoto řetězce. I když primární diskurs a nepřímé formy podání řeči nebyly zkoumány příliš zevrubně, zdá se, že se objevují častěji v počátečních satelitech řetězců, kdežto formy kombinované a zejména (volné) přímé v satelitech pozdějších.

Tato tendence je patrna zejména v řetězcích se dvěma satelity (109), kde 68 počátečních satelitů neobsahuje žádné přímé formy prezentace, kdežto 68 finálních satelitů přímé formy obsahuje. Co se týče přímých forem samotných, v prvním ze satelitů je proporce jednoznačných (volných) přímých (48,1%) a jednoznačných kombinovaných (48,2%) forem vyrovnaná, v druhém satelitu již převládají (volné) přímé formy (70,3%) nad formami kombinovanými (23,7%). Přestože distribuce primárních a prezentovaných forem v řetězcích se třemi a více satelity v různé míře podporuje výše nastíněné tendence, konkrétní kombinace forem v řetězcích je těžší vysledovat kvůli vyšší variabilitě možných kombinací a nižší frekvenci řetězců i forem prezentace. Na druhou stranu se ale podobné způsoby řetězení objevují i u ostatních typů satelitů, např. Kontextu nebo satelitech kauzálního typu („Cause-Effect“). Stejně sekvence forem, tedy primární, nepřímé, kombinované a přímé, jsou časté i v rámci jednoho satelitu bez ohledu na jeho typ.

Řetězení satelitů a formy prezentace lze vidět ve spojitosti s orbitálním, periodickým a prosodickým uspořádáním. Jak již bylo řečeno, orbitální struktura v součinnosti s periodickou předurčuje titulek a úvodní část zprávy k prominenci na rovině interpersonální, ideační a textové a opakovaným rétorickým usouvztažněním s jednotlivými satelity udržuje nukleus v rytmu pulsů či vln v ohnisku. Ale opakování není zásadní pouze pro nukleus. Satelity Elaborace, které v řetězcích vykazují výše popsanou tendenci, tj. jsou realizovány postupně narativními/nepřímými formami, kombinovanými a přímými formami, využívají též periodického řazení, a to k postupné prezentaci původního mluvčího, zvyšování míry přímosti forem a tím i subjektivity. V těchto řetězcích dochází s každým dalším satelitem k postupu od formy méně přímé k formě více přímé, a tak i ke změně od perspektivy podavatele k perspektivě původního mluvčího. Tento postup lze popsat jako prosodický, tj. realizovaný jako kontinuum s postupnou intensifikací, jež je rozprostřeno přes celou strukturu (Martin 1992, 11, 533; Martin a Rose 2008, 26-28; Lemke 1998, 47). V tomto smyslu lze deiktiku, míru přímosti prezentace a perspektivu původního mluvčího vidět jako rozprostřeny přes celý řetězec, s postupným zesilováním expresivity původního mluvčího. Tyto případy lze vysvětlit jako součinnost realizace periodické a prosodické.

Součinností orbitální a periodické struktury vzniká jedno hlavní ohnisko interpersonální prominence v nukleu, a v případě součinnosti periodické a prosodické struktury může vznikat několik menších interpersonálních ohnisek v řetězcích v satelitní části. Zatímco ohnisko v nukleu identifikuje, unifikuje a reflektuje perspektivu podavatele a vybraný úhel pohledu, potenciální ohnisko v satelitu situovaném ke konci řetězce, tedy v satelitu s relativně vysokou mírou přímosti a subjektivity původního mluvčího, vybraný úhel pohledu partikularizuje a individualizuje. Je ale nutné vést v patrnosti, že takto popsaná součinnost prosodického a periodického uspořádání reflektuje zaměření práce na přímé formy prezentace a že pro získání kompletního obrazu je nutné více prozkoumat též formy nepřímé a narativní. Součinnosti prosodické a periodické realizace nelze též přikládat stejnou váhu jako souhře struktury orbitální a periodické, protože se jedná o způsob organizace satelitů, který ale není na rozdíl od vztahu nukleus-satelit žánrotrvný a pro funkci novinové zprávy zásadní. To se též odráží v nekonzistentním využití periodického a prosodického řazení a na jejich součinnost je nutno nahlížet pouze jako na tendenci.

Další velkou skupinou satelitů jsou satelity vyjadřující kauzální vztahy („Cause-Effect“): Konsekvence („Consequence“), Koncese („Concession“) a satelity vyjadřující kauzalitu textovou, tedy s funkcí argumentační („Justification, Counter-Justification“). Konsekvence, z této skupiny satelit s nejvyšší frekvencí, specifikuje důvody, příčiny,

konsekvence nebo účel a z celkem 84 satelitů bylo 40 postaveno na přímých formách (53): 8 FDD, 25 DD, 0 FID-q, 14 ID-q, 4 NRDAp-q, 1 N-q a 1 forma s nejednoznačnou interpretací. Koncese, jejíž funkcí je zpochybnit očekávání nebo závěry vyplývající z nukleu, má nejnižší frekvenci. Ze 17 satelitů obsahovalo přímé formy (9) pouze 7 satelitů: 0 FDD, 4DD, 0 FID-q, 5 ID-q, 0 NRDAp-q, 0 N-q. Satelity Argumentu, poskytující rétorickou podporu nukleu, se objevují též zřídka; z 23 satelitů 12 obsahovalo celkem 20 přímých forem: 6 FDD, 8 DD, 1 FID-q, 4 ID-q, 1 NRDAp-q a 0 N-q. Naopak satelity Proti-Argumentu, které popírají či negují elementy nukleu, jsou častější a z celkem 33 satelitů obsahovalo 18 přímé formy (23): 3 FDD, 12 DD, 0 FID-q, 7 ID-q, 1 NRDAp-q a 0 N-q.

Nízkou frekvenci (textových) kauzálních satelitů lze vysvětlit nižší kompatibilitou argumentativních a explanatorních strategií se základním cílem novinové zprávy. Konsekvence činí text více analytickým a interpretativním; Koncese prezentuje něco neočekávaného, což je funkce většinou vyhrazena pro nukleus. Satelity Argumentu a Proti-Argumentu dodávají textu charakter debaty či diskuse. Struktura nukleus-Argument je podobná struktuře teze-argument, která je buď přenesena jako celek z textu původního nebo byla vytvořena procesem rekontextualizace až v textu zprávy. Přítomnost Proti-Argumentu indikuje i přítomnost opačného pohledu, než který byl vybrán pro prezentaci v nukleu, a přestože je ve své podstatě zdrojem dialogičnosti v textu a solidarity s alternativními hlasy, poukazuje i na problém objektivity a selektivity, protože jen hlas v nukleu má prominentní pozici v žánrové struktuře a roli s ní spojenou. Realizace přímými formami umožňuje podavateli distancovat se od rétorické strategie satelitu a prezentovat ji jako strategii reportáže (van Leeuwen 1987).

Novinové zprávy, které jsou ve značné či plné míře tvořeny formami prezentace, si lze představit jako koláže rekontextualizovaných původních promluv. Proces podání řeči má za následek změnu struktury a obsahu původní promluvy dle typu formy podání řeči, stejně jako změnu její funkce a interpretace, která se podřizuje a přizpůsobuje novému kontextu, žánru a jeho komunikativnímu cíli. Na druhou stranu může heteroglosický ráz zprávy, též např. v kombinaci s kauzálními a argumentativními satelity nebo souhlasnými a nesouhlasnými sekvencemi, do jisté míry ovlivnit charakter textu jako celku a jeho žánrovou prototypičnost.